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CYZICUS

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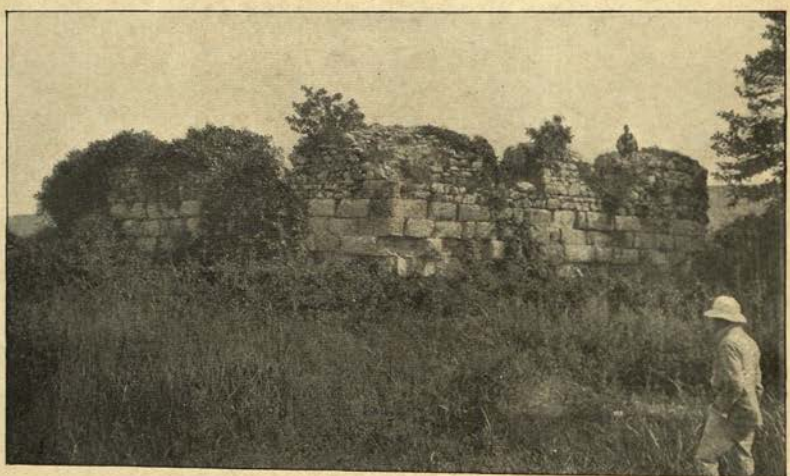

CYZICUS: HEXAGONAL TOWER

CYZICUS

BEING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THAT CITY, AND OF THE DISTRICT ADJACENT TO IT, WITH THE TOWNS OF *APOLLONIA AD RHYNDACUM*, *MILETUPOLIS*, *HADRIANUTHERAE*, *PRIAPUS*, *ZELEIA*, *ETC.*

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F. W. HASLUCK

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PREFACE

THIS book lays little claim to be considered as more than a compilation, checked where possible by original research. It is an attempt to bring together the very various authorities on the district of Asia Minor with which it deals, and to digest the mass of available information into a convenient form. The district, crossed and re-crossed by numerous travellers, is comparatively well known, and consequently affords greater opportunity than most parts of Asia Minor for a treatise which may serve as a more or less permanent basis for future workers. At the same time new discoveries—and the output of inscriptions seems inexhaustible—may at any moment refute (or less probably justify) the conclusions here put forward as hypotheses.

Hitherto no excavation worthy of the name has been undertaken on the site of Cyzicus. Private plundering was rife in Cyriac's time and has continued to our own day. Some attempt at more serious investigation seems to have been made about 1844 by Lord Eastnor, who, according to MacFarlane, "spent a considerable time at Cyzicus and made some excavations, but unfortunately his notes and drawings have been lost or destroyed through the foundering of the vessel in which they were embarked[1]."

In more recent times Mr Frank Calvert of the Dardanelles opened tombs on the site[2], and kindly permits me to print the following notes respecting the modes of burial:

"My archaeological researches at Cyzicus were limited to the excavation of some tombs. The results were a fine blue oenochoe

[1] *Turkey and her Destiny*, i. 452, note. Cf. Ch. White's *Constantinople* (1844) III. 160 (note).

[2] The bare fact is mentioned in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 345. Some of the resultant antiquities are catalogued by K. B. Stark.

and dish, a small moulded aryballos—amethyst colours—(this I believe is in the British Museum) and a number of other glass objects and terra-cotta lamps: a much-worn stele, which I believe to be of the 2nd or 3rd century B.C., and a sepulchral inscription (Christian) shew the necropolis was successively used for several centuries. In another locality I found a built chamber roofed with long pieces of marble with a slab for a door of the same material. The chamber was paved with large tiles. A number of skeletons lay on the floor, but nothing of interest was discovered. The tomb was free of soil. Another form of interment was the adaptation of an enormous earthen pipe, with flat tiles closing the ends as the pipe lay horizontally buried in the ground. In other parts of the city itself I picked up a head of Pallas, the lower half of a statue, a dolphin and other fragments."

M. Tito Carabella's excavations in 1876 were confined to the opening of trial trenches on the Acropolis hill, and the result was considered so disappointing that they were soon abandoned. Mr de Rustafjaell's attempt in 1901—2 was still more abortive, though both these expeditions brought to light important inscriptions.

The site, considered as a whole, is indeed so large and land so costly as to unfit it for private excavation, though certain areas, e.g. the theatre region within the walls and the so-called agora of the temple of Hadrian without, are attractive. It is greatly to be hoped that the work will in the end be systematically undertaken by one of the archaeological schools. Whichever of them it may be, our own can fairly claim to have contributed much pioneer work, being responsible for the only reliable archaeological map of the site, as also to a large extent for the present publication.

From future excavation we may reasonably hope to fill some of the lacunae in the history of Cyzicus; at present records are sadly deficient, especially during the Hellenistic period when Cyzicene prosperity seems to have reached its climax: this, too, in spite of a vast increase in epigraphical material. From the excavator's point of view it is a hopeful sign that the two tentative excavations are responsible for so large a proportion of the important Cyzicene inscriptions of late years;

and it is probably to the deeper levels of the site itself that we must look for the most valuable monuments in the future.

My own connection with the site dates from 1902, when I assisted Mr Henderson with the survey, under the auspices of the British School: later it seemed imperative to extend the field of research to the surrounding country, and my yearly journeys (1903—6), though not without epigraphic and numismatic results, were made with the primary object of gaining a general knowledge of the district and a more vivid impression of the sites and existing remains than is to be gained from books.

I feel that some explanation is needed for the ill-defined boundaries of the tract of country of which I have treated. It represents in the main the territory of Cyzicus as laid down by Strabo, to which have been added (1) southward, the plain of Balukiser and the middle Macestus valley, which belong geographically to Northern Mysia, and have an especial strategic importance for the Cyzicene district in the Byzantine period; and (2) westward, Priapus, as possibly a colony of Cyzicus and later the most important harbour of the district, and, for its religious associations, the Homeric city of Adrasteia.

The plan of the essay is as follows: the first part has been devoted to the topography of the whole district, together with the scanty details which have reached us of the individual history of the outlying townships: after the description of the Chersonese and the Islands, and a brief discussion of general physical points on the mainland, the order adopted is that of a circular tour, eastward from the isthmus to Triglia and Apollonia, south to Balukiser, north and west to Karabogha and so east to the Manyas plain: the territory is roughly divided into districts, and smaller sites are grouped around the main centres of population; by this method it is hoped to secure such continuity in the history of these districts as is possible, and to shew the ancient and modern conditions side by side: a separate chapter has been assigned to the discussion of the road system.

The second part treats of the history of Cyzicus, from its mythical foundation down to its last appearance, together with such events affecting the province as can reasonably be associated with it.

The third section deals with the religion of the city and district, the fourth with Cyzicene government, including a section on the gymnasia and games. To this has been appended a classified list of inscriptions from the district: inscriptions are referred to in the text by their numbers in this list.

It remains to express my gratitude to my many teachers and in particular to those who have assisted me directly in this work. The debt of any later writer on Cyzicus to Marquardt is obvious and felt: no less so are my obligations to Professor Ridgeway's lectures and Professor Ramsay's writings—I would that Cyzicene sculpture had given me more direct cause to express my indebtedness to Professor Waldstein!—while to the constant stimulus and encouragement of Professor R. C. Bosanquet, I may truthfully confess, this book owes its very existence.

To these names I would add those of Messrs Ernest and John Thomson of Constantinople, who have in many ways lightened for me the difficulties of travel, and of their faithful servant, the companion of all my peregrinations, Ali Ibrahim.

I have further gratefully to acknowledge loans of blocks and photographs from the German Archaeological Institute, the British School at Athens, and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (see *List of Illustrations*). Figs. 19 and 24 are reproduced by courteous permission of the Directors from photographs in the possession of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.

The proof-readers have my thanks and sincere sympathy.

F. W. H.

ATHENS, 1910.

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PART I.

CHAPTER I.

CYZICUS.

TOWARDS the western end of the Sea of Marmora, where it begins to narrow to the Dardanelles, lies the quondam island of Kapu Dagh, now a peninsula connected by three-quarters of a mile of marshy land with the southern shore of the little sea. It is an imposing mountainous mass rising at several points to a height of 2500 feet, and roughly triangular in shape: the base, which has an extreme length of seventeen miles, faces the Thracian shore, and the two sides taper in towards the isthmus: from north to south the "island" measures about nine miles. Of this triangle the western corner—west, that is, of a line drawn from Gonia to Vathy—is taken up by the peak of Klapsi (2530 feet), while the corresponding eastern corner consists of low rolling country capable of supporting the considerable village ports of Mihaniona and Peramo. The intermediate section is almost entirely mountainous and contains the chief range of the island, running roughly north-east and south-west, with the twin peaks of Dédé Bair and Adam Kaya, from which the Turkish name of the island, Kapu Dagh or Gate Mountain, is perhaps derived.

Kapu Dagh (Arctonnesus).

On the gentle slope facing the Asiatic shore at the narrowest point of the original channel, stand the last remnants of the once important maritime city of Cyzicus, commanding to the west the bay of Artaki[1], to the east the gulf of Panderma.

[1] Called Port S. Pierre on Lechevalier's map (which I surmise to be a bad reading of Porto Spiga on one of the earlier Italian *portolani*, cf. Golfe de Spiga on the Catalan) and Sin. Aidine on the map of Has (1743).

The Isthmus.

The question whether the Kapu Dagh was originally an island or a peninsula has been much discussed[1]. Th. Reinach especially has been at pains to prove that the severing of the isthmus was artificial. This is, however, contrary not only to tradition but to the evidence afforded by the site[2]. The isthmus of to-day is a dead level of swampy land some three-quarters of a mile broad, contrasting both with the low cliffs of the mainland and the fertile slopes of the peninsula. Narrow strips of sand along the sea on each side, heaped into dunes of a slight elevation on the east by the action of the prevalent north-easterly winds[3], enclose a marsh, inundated in winter, which is being gradually reclaimed to cultivation. On the side of the island, too, beyond the actual isthmus, a good deal of the land outside the western walls is flat, and has every appearance of a recent formation.

This coincides with the general opinion of antiquity: Apollonius[4], who drew, as we know, on earlier and local authorities, despite his ambiguities, calls it *νῆσος*, and the scholiast explains his mention of the isthmus[5] by annotating *νῆσος ὕστερον χερρόννησος*. Apollonius' relation of the Argonaut myth shews that tradition regarded Cyzicus as an island at least in prehistoric times, since the Argonauts evidently sailed through the strait which divided it from the mainland: we shall discuss Apollonius' topography at length in connection with the Argonaut myth.

The passage of Scylax[6] mentioning the isthmus, on which Reinach lays stress as being our earliest record, is no evidence for the original condition of the island, and the date is at most but a few years before Alexander to whom Pliny[7] attributes

[1] Mannert VI. 3, 522. Th. Reinach (*R.E.G.* VII. 1894, 48).

[2] Cf. Perrot, *Galatie et Bithynie* I. 49. Judeich, *Sitzb. Kön. Preuss. Akad.* 1898, II. 551. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch* 107. Texier, *Asie Mineure* I. 164. Ruge, *Petermann's Mitth.* 1892, 226. Marquardt, *Cyzicus* 10.

[3] Consequently soundings average ½ fathom close in shore on the eastern, as against 1½ on the western side of the isthmus.

[4] *Arg.* I. 936, and scholiast.

[5] Str. 682 uses the word twice of the long headlands of Cyprus, which are not *isthmi* in the modern sense.

[6] § 70 = *Geog. Min.* I. 68. [7] *N.H.* V. 32.

the connection of the town with the mainland. Anaximenes, quoted by Strabo[1], calls the Arctonnesus an island.

Of writers subsequent to Scylax, Mela[2] places Cyzicus "on the neck of the peninsula," Stephanus[3] "on the peninsula," while Strabo[4], Pliny[5] and Frontinus[6] call it an island joined to the mainland, quite harmonising with the rhetorical ambiguity of Aristides[7] who calls it "both island and peninsula." In addition to these authors we have three inscriptions[8] relating to the restoration of the port in the first century after Christ, shewing that there was then a passage through the bridges which could be blocked at will.

It remains from these data to construct a consistent history of the isthmus. I suppose that the original island always approached the mainland most closely at the point of the present isthmus, and that this point and that of S. Simeon were the *ἀμφίδυμοι ἀκταὶ* forming the original harbour Panormus: in the eastern corner of this bay was the built harbour of Chytus. This represents the half-imaginary state of things pictured by Apollonius. Some time in the fourth century, probably before Alexander[9], and very possibly when the city gained her independence (which as we shall see was the starting point of the Cyzicene empire, both on land and sea), the point above-mentioned was connected with the mainland by a causeway and bridge—Frontinus insists that there was but one bridge at the time of the Mithradatic siege[10]. By Strabo's time a second bridge, west of the first, had been added, enclosing the sheet of water represented by the present marsh and retaining the name of Panormus, though popularly called the

[1] Str. 635 = Frag. 4. [2] Inscr. I. 19. [3] s.v. Κύζικος.
[4] 575. [5] *N.H.* V. 32. [6] III. 13. 6.
[7] I. 386, Dind. Cf. also Ov. *Trist.* IX. 29, haerentem Propontiacis oris. Inscr. (Inscr. IV. 69 B) *νησαίη* Κύζικος in *Anth. Pal.* 7. 868. Strabo 656 describes Cnidus in almost the same words. Cf. also 757.
[8] Inscrr: I. 14, IV. 68, IV. 69.
[9] Cf. the attempt of Memnon: the moles may be falsely attributed to Alexander on the analogy of Tyre (cf. Str. 757). Alexander seems to have had little enough to do with Cyzicus.
[10] Frontin. IV. 13. 6, unus et angustus introitus. Cf. also Plut. *Lucull.* 9, *τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διέργοντα τὴν πόλιν εὔρειπον* and the plural *εὔρειποι* of the Tryphaena inscription, *χώματα καὶ γεφύρας* in Aristides I. 386 (Dind.).

Pool (λίμνη). A waterway was secured through the isthmus by cuttings (εὔρειποι)[1] in the embankments, presumably spanned by drawbridges. In the first century after Christ these passages were deliberately blocked to assure communication with the mainland and with the Roman forces in the event of a raid from the pirates who infested the Hellespont at this time[2]. Natural processes, aided by neglect, were responsible for the silting up of the now entirely enclosed harbour; a thorough dredging was undertaken by Tryphaena in the reign of Tiberius, and the channels were kept open as late, apparently, as the third century (when Syncellus mentions the πόρθμιον of Cyzicus[3]), while a century later Procopius was compelled to attack the town by sea. The last hint of the "island" is Clavijo's mention of "a cape on the Turkish side called Quinisco, and they say that when Timour Beg defeated the Turk, certain troops who were in the battle fled to this cape and converted it into an island[4]."

The harbour mentioned by Marcellinus[5] as closed by a chain I take to be the northern portion of the Pool which was protected by projections of the city wall. By this time, however, the connection of the two seas was not essential, as Cyzicus had little importance except as a purveyor to Constantinople. The earthquake of Justinian's reign was practically the end of the city, and the natural result of its decadence would be the substitution of the obvious roadsteads of Panderma and Artaki as the shipping ports of the Cyzicus district.

[1] 575, γεφυραῖς δυσὶ συναπτομένη. Phaselis also had three harbours and a pool. *Ib.* 666; cf. also 673.

[2] Cf. *C.I.G.* 3612. I cannot believe with Ruge (*loc. cit.* p. 226) that the passage had remained closed ever since the Mithradatic war.

[3] But this may refer rather to the channel between the Kapu Dagh and Marmara.

[4] Hakluyt Society's ed. p. 28. There is no inherent improbability in the story, and Clavijo is contemporary. Ducas 72 B. says that Timour εἰς Φρυγίαν τὴν κάτω ἀφίκετο καὶ πορθήσας ἅπαντα πολίχνιά τε καὶ πόλεις ἦλθεν εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ διαβὰς Ἀδραμύντιον καὶ Ἄσσον ἦλθεν εἰς Πέργαμον. Chalcondyles, 157 B., ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐτράποντο ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν ἐπιδρομῇ χρησάμενοι ἔς τε τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. The *History of Tamerlane* describes these raids in general terms.

[5] Amm. Marc. XXXVI. 8, 382 A.D.

Beyond the Pool with its canals, an inscription[1] mentions "harbours and projecting moles." Strabo[2] speaks of two closed harbours, and Apollonius in addition to Panormus[3], which is fairly certainly the Pool, from its description as "having two entrances[4]," speaks of harbours known as Chytus[5] and Threicius[6]. Chytus was an artificial harbour in contradistinction to Panormus, and may probably be identified with the small western marsh. Of the Thracian harbour nothing further is known, but it is possibly represented by the small eastern marsh; in spite of the symmetrical form of the latter, the irregular line of the wall over quite level ground in this quarter suggests a change in coast line, and the harbour may have originally extended further north. The entrances to both these smaller harbours were protected by moles, of which ruins remain[7].

Cyzicus.

The site of Cyzicus itself is now devoted to vine and mulberry culture, and shared by the inhabitants of Hammamli, Yappaji Keui, Yeni Keui and Ermeni Keui; it extended, as is shewn by the remains of the city wall, practically from sea to sea, "blocking the isthmus[8]." The spot is popularly known as Bal-Kiz ("Honey maiden") probably, as Hamilton[9] suggests, originally a corruption of Παλαιὰ Κύζικος, but associated by popular etymology with the Queen of Sheba, who is held by tradition to have had a palace there[10]. The town, as Strabo says[11], lay partly (the north-east

[1] = Inscr. IV. 57. [2] 575. [3] Sch. I. 954.

[4] Sch. Ap. Rh. I. 936, 940. *Et. Mag.* s.v. 'Αμφίδυμος.

[5] Ap. Rh. I. 987 and schol. *Et. Mag.* s.v. Χυτὸς.

[6] Ap. Rh. I. 1110. The scholiast is vaguely erudite. It was probably the port patronised by the traders from Byzantium and the Thracian ports; cf. the Egyptian harbour at Tyre (Str. 787) and Aristides' allotment of the three harbours of Rhodes. I. 797, Dind.

[7] *J.H.S.* XXII. 182, 185. G. Cyzicenus gives the following account of the western in his day: Εἰς δὲ τὸν πλησίον αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ δυτικοῦ μέρους σώζεται καὶ οἰκοδόμημά τι χαμηλὸν ἔνδον τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκτεινόμενον ἕως πόδας 100, ἐκ τετραγώνων μεγάλων λίθων κατεσκευασμένον καὶ ἐν μέρει χαλασμένον, τὸ ὁποῖον οἱ ἐντόπιοι ὀνομάζουσι Σκάλαν· τυχὸν ὅμως νὰ ἐκτίσθη πάλαι ὡς διάφραγμα τῆς θαλάσσης (ff. 83, 84, quoted by Lambros).

[8] Scylax 70. [9] II. 102.

[10] Texier (II. 169) notes the occurrence of the name in several other parts of Asia Minor. For the Queen of Sheba legend see below, p. 204.

[11] 575.

corner) on the hill called Bear Mountain (apparently as late as Meletius[1] and Sestini[2]), either from the alleged metamorphosis of the nurses of Zeus into bears, or because there were bears on it, or because it was so high that it approached the stars (!)[3]: the second is probably the true explanation, the other two being pedantic fictions of grammarians[4]. This north-east corner of the *enceinte* probably represents the seat of the Pelasgian Kings and the later Acropolis.

The larger half of the city (the southern and western portions) lay on the low ground of the isthmus and the small plain on the Artaki side, where a large suburb probably grew up in imperial times outside the walls about the temple of Hadrian. The existent ruins are meagre and comparatively uninteresting. The city walls can be traced with few breaks throughout their circuit and stand in some places to a considerable height. Inside them is the shapeless remnant of the theatre, overgrown with brushwood[5], and outside the substructures of the temple of Hadrian and a few gaunt piers of the Amphitheatre—a subject rather for the artist than the archaeologist.

The remains of the walls are naturally of various dates. Perrot[6] assigns the eastern to the middle of the fourth century, when the city seems to have been re-walled after the Spartan

[1] Bithynia 4. [2] VI. 53. [3] Sch. Ap. Rh. I. 936.

[4] The whole peninsula is similarly called Arctonnesus by Stephanus and Pliny (v. 40. Cf. Ap. Rh. I. 941, 1150). Bears, according to De Rustafjaell, are still to be found on the mountains.

[5] Pococke says (p. 116) that in his time the stones were already removed and the building overgrown: he was informed by one well acquainted with the place that there were originally 27 seats. West of it he saw the marble seats of the eastern end of a "circus." Texier (p. 174) in 1835 saw two or three seats of the theatre still in place, the brushwood having been burnt off. The *proscenium* had nearly disappeared but enough remained to shew that it was at right angles to the supporting walls of the *cavea*, and had been faced with marble. The same author gives the diameter of the theatre as 100 metres. From the mass of shapeless ruins south of the theatre we may conjecture that it was an important point in the Hellenistic and Roman city. Texier (p. 174) distinguished in this quarter an agora, a portico and a temple, with *temenos*, orientated N. and S., of Roman date. The temple was faced with Synnada marble, and had red columns with white veins: from it may have come the beautiful supports for a table of offering found in the vicinity by Mr Henderson in 1903. Such objects have been found *in situ* at Priene.

[6] *Galatie* I. 69. Cf. Inscr. I. 21 and perhaps I. 22.

occupation, and the upper courses of the southern ramparts to late imperial date. In 1902 we found little of distinctive Hellenic type: large portions, certainly, of the eastern wall are identical in style with the obviously Roman south-western towers, while Roman and even Byzantine detail is not infrequently built in. Much may, however, be allowed for repeated restoration down to the fourteenth century, and subsequent piling of stones from neighbouring vineyards in front of the line of the wall makes it difficult to recognise the original structure. History shews that the town was unwalled in 411, walled again before the attempt of Memnon and continuously, with the exception, perhaps, of local demolitions for convenience' sake in the peaceful Antonine period, down to the siege by Procopius; and that the isthmus wall at least was maintained to protect the Chersonese against the Turks, right down to their final conquest.

The styles of building found in the existing remains of the *enceinte* may be roughly classified as follows:—

I. Granite blocks laid in irregular courses, frequently with diagonal jointing: interstices filled with clay-mortar or small stones. This is the construction of the great south-eastern bastion. Perrot gives a measured drawing of a section of this wall, which he assigns to good Greek date: his opinion was borne out by a fourth century inscription, relating to the building of a tower, which was discovered by Carabella clamped to the base of the wall in this neighbourhood. The wall has evidently suffered since, and it is now difficult to distinguish it from the stones which have been gathered from the vineyards and piled against it. We found no architectural detail built in except a large Doric drum of brown sandstone.

II. Facing of rectangular dark granite blocks slightly bossed and laid in regular courses about ·40 m. deep: the blocks are disposed alternate "headers and stretchers," the exposed surface of one stretcher equalling about that of two headers: the jointing is fair in this and the succeeding style (III.); the core of the wall is generally of whitish cement.

The best examples of this style are to be found (*a*) in the stretch of wall between Demir Kapu and the central

harbour, where both facings are preserved, giving a thickness of about 1·50 m., and (*b*) in the fragment immediately south of the Upper Road, where the stretchers have disappeared so as to shew the headers tailing into the cement; (*c*) this is also the construction shewn at the west postern gate.

This style is possibly to be referred to the first century B.C.

III. Facing of very long stretchers (sometimes as much as 2·20 m.) of various granites: headers only a few centimetres in thickness and often of marble; courses vary from 0·50 to 0·30 m. deep.

The best examples are:—(*a*) The hexagonal towers and the curtain wall between them: the towers stand to a height of some 5·00 m., their upper parts being of unfaced rubble set in coarse red cement. This may be a later addition to the substructure, but *inside* the western tower only the quoins are of squared stone, the rest rubble-faced. The wall between the towers is about 1·40 thick:—(*b*) A long stretch south of the conspicuous fragment below the Upper Road standing to the height of about 2·00 m. and well preserved. The style of masonry in (*b*) is better than that in (*a*) and is certainly of Hellenistic date.

IV. Massive but irregular white granite facing with coarse joints, filled with white cement, which is daubed carelessly over the face of the wall. This is shewn (*a*) in the stretch of wall adjoining the Erdek road (where many architectural remains and fragments of tile are built in) and (*b*) in the square tower opposite the head of the aqueduct. This construction may well date from the fourteenth century defences of the isthmus.

V. Rough rubble building with facing of small stones is found in the wall and buttress towers running from Demir Kapu towards the sea. This seems to be a late addition to the *enceinte* probably along the line of the original harbour defences. The building is entirely without character and may be late Roman or Byzantine.

The space enclosed by the walls is irregular in shape, as is natural on a hilly site; there is, however, a certain amount of symmetry in the plan of the southern portion. Thus, the recess of the great harbour cuts into the town about the middle of the

southern wall, to the extremities of which, i.e. just east of the Erdek road and at the south-eastern tower called Demir Kapu[1], ran the causeways from the mainland: the extensions of the south wall are of late date, though not contemporary with each other; both may lie along the old foundations of the harbour defences[2].

The south-eastern and south-western corners of the *enceinte* are occupied by the two smaller ports, protected in each case by the seaward curve of the wall running north, and provided with moles at their entrances. The arrangement of this portion bears a striking resemblance to that of the harbours of ancient Rhodes[3], which was laid out during the Peloponnesian wars by the architect of the Piraeus[4]: the central harbour with its enclosed annexe, the flanking harbours, and even the position of the theatre under the acropolis hill are identical.

The subsequent course of the eastern and western walls takes advantage of the valleys of two streams, the so-called Cleite[5] on the west and an inconsiderable brooklet on the east, which pass each other not more than a quarter of a mile apart, where the northern wall connects the valleys. The western wall, however, crosses the "Cleite" stream on reaching the plain, in order to enclose a portion of the level country in the direction of the Hadrian temple, while the eastern keeps inside of its brook.

Gates.

Of the gates spoken of by de Stochove[6] and Cyriac[7] only one, a postern overlooking the "Cleite" ravine[8], is still extant. That at Demir Kapu is said to have been standing within living memory, and the name is preserved in the possible harbour gate of Balkiz Kapu. Perrot's southern

[1] Duchastel, I find since writing my article on the Topography of Cyzicus, saw the arch of Demir Kapu standing *beside* the "grosse tour quarrée."

[2] Cf. Xiphilinus' description of the harbours of Byzantium, LXXV. 10, which were enclosed by moles defended with towers: and the mediaeval and modern harbours of Rhodes and Candia.

[3] Cf. Newton's map and Droysen's in *Hellenismus* I. 477.

[4] Str. 654.

[5] See below, on the Argonauts: this stream is evidently the one represented at the feet of the Tyche of Cyzicus on coins (cf. e.g. B.M. 222).

[6] 184. [7] *B.C.H.* XIV. 532.

[8] Mistaken by Perrot for remains of an arcaded theatre. *J.H.S.* XXII. 185.

postern is doubtful, though there was evidently an aperture in the wall here. The "Thracian Gate" of Pliny is to be referred to Byzantium.

Temple of Hadrian.

On the plain outside the western walls stand the vaults of the famous temple of Hadrian, first mentioned by Cyriac, and described, though not identified till Perrot, by all subsequent travellers. The ruins are called "Bezestan," or "Magara[1]" in allusion to their vaulted passages. Michaud[2] records the tradition that the vaults are haunted by demons who guard the treasure concealed in them, and were formerly a resort of brigands[3].

Cyriac visited the site of Cyzicus twice, in 1431 and in 1444; on the first occasion he speaks in general terms of the ruins of vast buildings which covered the site, the amphitheatre, walls and gates. Most of all was he impressed by the ruins of the splendid temple of Jupiter, of which the walls (*parietes*) and thirty-three columns with their epistyles still stood erect, while the statues of the gods were still in place in the pediment[4].

The second visit seems to have been largely devoted to obtaining drawings (unfortunately missing) and measurements of the temple: to the latter we shall refer later. In the interval between his two visits the cella wall and four of the columns with a great part of the epistyle had been carried off by the Turks. No later author mentions so much as a single column standing.

The temple is to-day represented only by the substructures of the podium. A general view shews a great mound, or rather agglomeration of mounds, measuring about 120 × 180 m., rising four to six metres above the surrounding country and overgrown with stunted holly-bushes. While the marble of the

[1] The "Bazar," the "Caves."

[2] Michaud calls these ruins the Areopagus, 107, 111. They are also said to be called Kodja Kilisse, suggesting that the temple was used in Christian times as a church. Limnios gives this name to the ruins of the theatre; similarly "Bezestan" is applied also to the Byzantine ruin at the N.E. corner of the central harbour.

[3] Cf. Michaud 125, Turner 198; there is a grave reputed that of a man killed by brigands on the Artaki road.

[4] Ornatissima in fronte diversa deorum simulacra. In 1444 "insigni ejus et mirabili in frontispicio eximia deum et praeclarissima illa de marmore simulacra Iove ipso protectore suaeque eximiae celsitudinis patrocinio inlaesae et intactae suo fere prisco splendore manent."

temple has been consigned piecemeal to the kiln, the substructures, being of baser material, have escaped.

The mound is traversed by seven parallel tunnels running east and west, for the most part built of rubble and very dilapidated. The best preserved portion, measured and planned by Perrot, probably supported the cella, and is somewhat west of the centre of the mound: it occupies the breadth of the three central tunnels, and its outer walls are carefully built of squared blocks, now stripped of their metal clamps; the walls of the central nave and the vaults throughout are of rubble set in coarse pink cement. In the southern wall of the central nave is contrived a stairway (now ruinous) opening at right angles to the nave, but running parallel to it. Nearly opposite in the corresponding wall is a short passage leading to a domed well chamber: the entrance to this passage is nearly blocked by fallen *débris*.

The remains, such as they are, rather tempt one to doubt the correctness of Cyriac's description, and consequently of Reinach's restoration from these data.

Cyriac's account of the ruins gives us the following measurements:

(*a*) Length (*amplitudo pro columnarum spatio*) 240 cubits.
Breadth . . . . . 110 „
Height . . . . . 70 feet.

(*b*) Dimensions of cella . . . . 140 × 70 feet.
Number of columns on sides . . . 30.
Intercolumniation and distance of peristyle from wall . . . . 14 feet.
Number of columns between the side ranges:
In front, five rows of four . . . 20.
Behind, three rows of four . . . 12.
Total number of columns . . . 62,
exclusive of ten, in two rows of five, inside.

From (*b*) it is possible to plan, as Reinach has done, a hexastyle temple, fifteen columns a side, with long porches at each end. This is evidently what Cyriac intended, but the extreme dimensions of such a temple are quite at variance with those he gives in (*a*), even in the proportion of side to front.

The extreme simplicity of the dimensions given in (*b*), all derived from the diameter of the column and uniformly in *feet*, not *cubits*, gives a mathematical rather than an architectural harmony to the plan: the cella front and back, for instance, do not align with any range of columns.

Now Cyriac is not infallible (the plan of the temple was obscured by *débris*, he himself says) and his good faith even is not beyond suspicion[1]. The evidence of the ruins is first hand and, as we shall see, does not bear him out.

Apart from the evidence of Cyriac we should expect the temple (*a*) to have been octastyle instead of hexastyle, and (*b*) to have had a broad central intercolumniation.

(*a*) A temple of this enormous size would be naturally octastyle: all the imperial coins shewing the Neocorate temple of Cyzicus represent it as such; and the ruins, which consist of *seven* parallel vaults, convinced Perrot, before the appearance of Cyriac's MS., that they were intended for an octastyle building. Beyond this, Cyriac's own extreme measurements of the façade are quite inconsistent with a hexastyle building.

(*b*) A large central intercolumniation is shewn on many coins[2], including the largest and most carefully engraved specimens: where the ruins are best preserved the central vault is much broader than the flanking ones (3·50 : 1·90 m.).

At Aezani on the Rhyndacus are considerable remains of a temple having remarkable likenesses to the Cyzicene[3], though built on a much smaller scale: the cella is consequently supported on a single vault, but this has the same arrangements for ventilation and the same communication by staircase with the cella above as we find at Cyzicus. The two temples are not far removed in date[4].

[1] *A.-E. Mitth.* VIII. 102.

[2] Coin types alone are notoriously bad evidence for architecture, but the balance of evidence is in favour of the irregularity, when the central intercolumniation is not widened (as often) to shew the cultus statue within. Thus at Apollonia, Reinach restores the Apollo temple as hexastyle, while coins shew it tetrastyle with a very wide central intercolumniation, which is still possible in a temple of comparatively small size, and Reinach's hexastyle temple with only nine columns a side is rather anomalous.

[3] See Reinach, *Voy. Arch.* pl. XXI.

[4] See Koerte in *Festschr. f. O. Benndorf* 209—214.

The Aezani temple is octastyle pseudodipteral, with fifteen columns a side, and has a wide centre intercolumniation; the normal intercolumniation is about one and a half diameters.

For the Cyzicus temple our only fixed dimension, on which all authorities are agreed, is the column diameter of about seven feet.

From Perrot's measured drawing of the vaults we find that the width of the central nave of the cella above must have been about fourteen feet, or two diameters: there is no reason why this should not represent the central intercolumniation of the façade. The aisle measurements give a width of about ten and a half feet (one and a half diameters) for the intercolumniation of the columns flanking the entrance.

Again, the passage into the central vault from the east (front), including the thickness of the western foundation wall, measures 13·50 m.: this dimension, supposing it to represent the length of the pronaos above, suits a porch *in antis* of a depth of two intercolumniations, if the lesser façade intercolumniation of one and a half diameters is adhered to. We thus obtain a side intercolumniation equal to the lesser intercolumniation of the façade.

Applying this dimension to the length of the galleries, we shall find that the cella wall, exclusive of *antae*, accounts for six columns and their five intercolumniations—again as at Aezani. Following out the Aezani plan (it has fifteen columns a side as has the smaller Baalbek temple, and the temple at Magnesia) we shall add a front porch *in antis* of two intercolumniations depth (which we have deduced independently above), and a corresponding back porch *in antis*, of which part is taken up by the stairway from the vaults: this will account for ten of the fifteen lateral columns. Of the remaining five, three go to the front and two to the back. The disposition of the front and back colonnades will vary according as we lay most stress on correspondence (*a*) with the Aezani temple, or (*b*) with Cyriac's description: (*a*) three full rows in front and the two columns *in antis* give Cyriac's twenty extra columns in front. A similar treatment of the back, however, gives fourteen extra columns instead of Cyriac's twelve, unless

we suppose that the two back columns *in antis* were included, as at the Parthenon, in a Byzantine apse.

(*b*) By reducing the depth of the back porch *in antis* to one intercolumniation, and leaving the lateral colonnades open from end to end, Cyriac's computation of the columns remains intact.

For comparison with Cyriac's figures, the corresponding dimensions of our hypothetical restoration are appended:

Extreme length:

15 columns (105 feet) + 14 intercolumniations (147 feet) = 252 feet.

Breadth:

8 columns (56 feet) + 6 intercolumniations (63 feet), central do. (14 feet) = 133 feet.

Cella length including antae:

10 columns (70 feet) + 9 intercolumniations (94½ feet) = 164 feet.

Do. *Breadth:*

4 columns (28 feet) + 2 intercolumniations (21 feet) + central do. (14 feet) = 72 feet.

We need not, with Reinach, dispute the two internal ranges of five columns mentioned by Cyriac. They may have enclosed niches for the twelve Olympians of whom Hadrian was the thirteenth[1], and have supported a gallery: "*parietibus annexae*," again, does not necessarily imply engaged columns: indeed the evidence of the ruins rather points to the inner ranges having continued the alignment of the central intercolumniation of the façade.

The temple seems to have adjoined the south side of a long rectangular enclosure, perhaps an *agora*, some 450 × 100 m., whose western termination, with most of the southern wall, is clearly traceable. The ground at the western end has every appearance of having been artificially levelled, and the bank running along the north side, where even now broken monolithic shafts of red-veined S. Simeon marble may be seen, possibly represents a portico[2]. The eastern end of the en-

[1] Socrat. *Hist. Eccles.* III. 23.

[2] Cf. Pococke, p. 115, "The Piazza probably had a portico round it, because in

closure, if we allow that the temple stood in the middle of its long side, abutted on the city wall.

Amphitheatre.

The amphitheatre stands in the Cleite valley beneath the Acropolis: its shattered piers rising from the thickly wooded slopes of the old *cavea* are the most striking relic of the Roman city[1]: as at Pergamon[2] the stream flows through the building, presumably for use in naval spectacular displays (*naumachiae*) as well as for the cleansing of the arena. The amphitheatre is of oval form, and was surrounded by two tiers of arcading. There were originally, according to Texier[3], thirty-two *vomitoria*. The material used is for the most part granite in squared blocks: the poor detail and the fact that second century inscriptions have been recovered from the building date it at earliest late in the Antonine period. It is probably the "Balkiz Serai" or "Tamashalik[4]" mentioned by Seaddin and Hadji Kalfa in connection with the legend of Suleiman Pasha. Grelot specially remarks that both seas were visible from the amphitheatre, which is mentioned of the "palace of Balkiz" by Seaddin.

Necropoleis.

De Rustafjaell[5] reports the ground outside the eastern walls "honeycombed with ancient tombs," and Sorlin Dorigny[6] seems to have excavated "post-Macedonian" graves in the same quarter. The sarcophagus outside the western walls[7] suggests a cemetery, perhaps a street of tombs, in that direction also: I saw, too, in 1906, a large marble sarcophagus near the S.W. corner of the isthmus, and in 1903 several rifled slab-graves by the mainland end of the aqueduct: there was a suburb on this side according to Strabo[8], and coins and worked marbles are commonly found there.

digging for stones they found at the west end sixteen very large square pieces of marble which were probably the foundations of as many columns."

[1] The ruins are figured by Von Richter, Caylus (*Recueil*), Texier and Brassey, and a photograph by De Rustafjaell appears in *J.H.S.* XXII. 181.

[2] Texier II. 228. [3] p. 174.

[4] Von Richter calls it Mahmun Kalessi.

[5] *J.H.S.* XXII. 181. [6] pp. 4, 5.

[7] Rustafjaell, p. 181. The contents of a tomb excavated by Carabella are described in *Rev. Arch.* XXXVII. 202. The locality is not stated.

[8] 575 *ad fin.*

CHAPTER II.

ARTAKI AND THE KAPU DAGH.

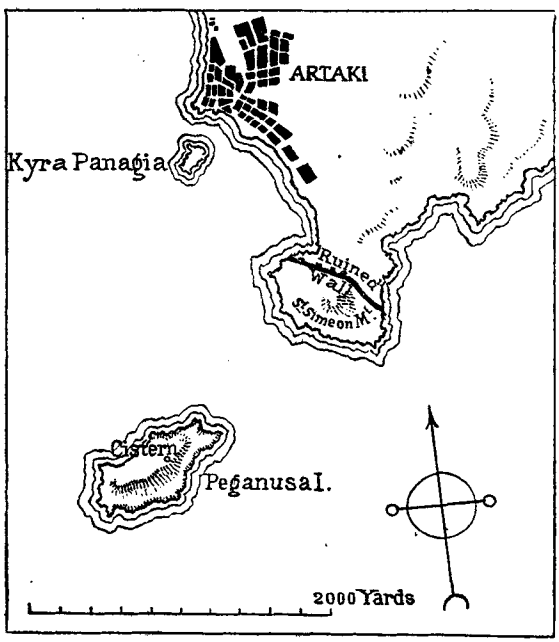


FIG. 1. ARTAKI ROAD[1].

Artaki.

ARTAKI, in turn a sister-colony, a suburb, and a successor of Cyzicus, has maintained its name and position on the south-eastern shore of the Arctonnesus with varying fortune since its colonization by Miletus if not longer.

[1] From Admiralty Chart, 1649, *Sea of Marmora* (1902).

The modern town (Erdek) is a busy little port, communicating by steamer twice a week with Constantinople, Karabogha and the Thracian ports. It has a good deep anchorage close in shore, sheltered from the prevailing north-easterly wind, between the rocky promontory of S. Simeon, south-east of the town, and the low point on which the town is partly built: the chief export is a heady white wine which now, as in Leunclavius' day[1], enjoys a considerable repute.

The town is the seat of a Kaimakam, and is inhabited by a mixed population of Turks and Greeks[2]. The latter have twelve churches, of which all, except the new cathedral, are small bare buildings without architectural pretensions: little of interest, indeed, has survived the disastrous fire in 1854[3], when according to the folk-song:—

"'Καῆκαν δώδεκα ἐκκλησίαις, στασίδια καὶ εἰκόνες,
'Καῆκε καὶ ἡ Μητρόπολι μὲ δεκαοχτὼ κολώναις[4]."

Of the ancient city there remains not a trace: the following from Georgius Cyzicenus[5] is given for what it is worth:—

"Artaki appears to be built on the ruins of the ancient city whose ancient walls are preserved here and there among the houses. The inhabitants have a tradition that these walls, starting from the shore where the mosque is, continued nearly in a straight line into the town and descended to a spot facing 'Tzioura[6]' as they call it: and from there, stretching along the shore, they united at the mosque; so that they seem to have enclosed a roughly triangular space. Some of the inhabitants, however, are of opinion that the ancient Artaki was built on

[1] *Liber Singularis*, § 16, Cyzici vina nobilia quibus cum voluptate Constantinopoli salubriter utebamur. Cf. Hamilton II. 98. *J.H.S.* XXII. 179. See also Marquardt, pp. 32 ff., for ancient references to wine of Cyzicus.

[2] Cuinet gives the population as 807 M. and 5,655 G., Malkotzes (1896) 12,850, of which a quarter Turkish and Circassian, Fitzner (1904) 6,500, nearly all Greek, while statistics lately to hand (*Bulletin d'Orient*, Jan. 19, 1906) assess the whole population at 8,825, of which 6,511 Greek and 2,248 Turkish.

[3] This is the date given by Nicodemus: Perrot (*Souvenir*) mentions a fire about 1860.

[4] Πάχτικος, Δημώδη Ἄσματα, No. 253, p. 376.

[5] p. 85. MS. f. 55. Texier (169) mentions a wall of marble blocks above the town, but does not make the locality clear.

[6] The island mentioned below.

that portion of the site which is between the hill of S. Simeon and the modern Artaki; this space is now known as Kanáva and is vineyard land. They think this because when they dig there they find ruins of dwellings and workshops. For instance, not many years ago there were found in the vineyards a wine-shop (*καπηλεῖον*), a barber's, and a coppersmith's; for in one were found scraps of iron, in the other razors and other barber's tools, and in the third broken glass cups, one only being perfect, which I have still. . . . . This, then, is the evidence which makes some place the site of the ancient Artaki there."

Immediately in front of the town lies the rocky islet of Panagia, with ruins of a Byzantine church, baths and *ayasma*. Lucas[1] saw there springs of hot and cold water and a quantity of glass mosaic: he adds, "La tradition des Grecs dit que sous les ruines est ensevelie une des plus belles églises du monde," but excavation has failed to justify the tradition. The island church is noticed by Uzzano[2].

South-east of the port is the conical hill of S. Simeon or Mourad Bair[3], connected by a low rocky isthmus with the Kapu Dagh. The promontory is called *ἀκρωτήριον* Μέλανος by Strabo[4]. Across the landward slope about half-way up the hill run the ruins of a fortification wall with six square towers, two of which flank the gate; the wall is noticed by most travellers and called by Hamilton Seidi Ghazeh Kaleh[5].

The wall, which is in some places as much as 6·00 m. thick, stands to a considerable height, though never above the interior level of the fortress. It is built of rubble with tile mortar, and when Pococke and Hamilton saw it was still faced with squared

[1] 1. 27.

[2] In his description of the port of "La Rocca" (XIV. c.), p. 226, "da Paris alla città di Spigara a Palanois alla Rocca à 6 miglia entro greco e Tramontana, e quì ha buono porto e supra lo porto à una Isoletta, che v' à una chiesa all' entrata del porto." La Rocca, Lacora seem to be perversions of Lartacho, cf. the Latin bishopric *Lacorensis* mentioned by Mas Latrie, *Tresor*.

[3] Malkotzes gives it the appropriate name Πιλάφι.

[4] 576. Cf. 582. Perhaps from Melas, father of Miletus (Nic. Damasc. frg. 63), or from Melas, son of Phrixus. Kiepert gives the name to the promontory of Karabogha: Strabo, however, mentions the *ἀκρωτήριον* Μέλανος, immediately after describing Artaki, as in the track of coasters sailing from Cyzicus to Priapus.

[5] Von Richter calls it simply Palaeo Castro or Balikesri, p. 419.

blocks of granite and marble in alternate courses: of this facing only a few granite blocks remain. The towers are rectangular in plan and, as far as they exist, built solid; they project about 5·20 m. from the curtain, and are fairly regularly spaced about 78·00 apart. The wall is not carried through the isthmus on the side furthest from the town, but breaks off abruptly as if never finished after the second gate-tower. Hamilton refers it to the Roman period on account of the construction, and the planning seems to refer it to an early date in this period: it is probably the *oppidum* mentioned by Pliny. The fortification is locally attributed to the Genoese. On the extreme summit are remains of a small apsidal chapel[1], in the middle of which has been built a Turkish *dédé*.

South-west of the promontory, divided from it by a narrow channel, is the island of Tavshan Ada, where Prokesch[2] found two cisterns and a ruined castle. The latter he describes as a long rectangular fortification similar in construction to the Genoese castle on the Bosporus: it had three large towers and one small one on the long sides, the side of entrance and the back being also defended each by two towers.

The castle of Mouchlia[3], an hour and a half north of Artaki, stands on a lofty projecting spur of the mountains which bound the fertile plain between the town and Gonia. It has no strategic importance but is merely feudal in character—a small impregnable fortress overawing the plain—and may have been the seat of the feudal lord to whom Baldwin of Flanders allotted the Chersonnese: Georgius Cyzicenus[4] notes that the castle was known in his day as Κεραμιδᾶς, so that it would appear to be the fortress *περὶ τῶν βουνῶν τῆς Κυζίκου* taken by John of Brienne in 1233[5]. It is locally attributed, like S. Simeon, to the Genoese.

[1] Cf. Pococke and Prokesch.

[2] p. 256. Cf. also Lucas 29.

[3] Sestini 22; called Palaeo Castro in Prokesch (256). "Mouchlia" I was told means merely "ancient."

[4] f. 62, *φρούριον ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ὀνομαζόμενον* Κεραμιδᾶς *ὅπερ ὄνομα διαμένει καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καὶ λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν περιξ τόπων*. It is marked Μουχλία-Κεραμιδᾶς in his map.

[5] Acrop. xxiii.

The castle walls stand to a considerable height and enclosed a roughly oblong space (about 200 m. by 40 m.) lying N.N.E. and S.S.W. They are two metres thick and built of rubble and tile faced with irregular granite blocks. Eight towers (of which seven are semicircular) remain, and one entrance can be distinguished on the long S.E. side.

In the Argonaut saga we have no mention of a settlement at Artaki, only of a "fountain of Artace[1]" (identified with a *cheshmé* half an hour out of the town) and of a certain Artaceus slain in the fight who obviously represents the eponymous hero of the deme. This personage is probably a Hellenistic fiction if he does not represent a memory of a tribal god, for a Thracian tribe Artacii is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus and others[2], and Ἀρτακηνὴ is a Thracian epithet of Hera[3]: Ptolemy mentions a place of the same name in Bithynia[4], so the name is probably Thracian in origin.

The place was colonized by the Milesians[5] and gave its name to the mountain behind and an island a stade from the shore[6] (Tavshan Ada? or Panagia?). Herodotus mentions it as a town in the story of Aristeas of Proconnesus[7], and it was one of the places burnt by Darius' fleet after the Ionian revolt[8]. Later it appears in the Hellespontine tribute lists as a member of the Delian confederacy. Any importance the town may have had was absorbed by the rise of Cyzicus. Scylax[9] is content with a bare mention. Strabo[10] calls it a χώριον ἐν τῇ Κυζικηνῶν νήσῳ, and Pliny's "portus ubi oppidum fuit" shews that it had sunk to the position of a mere port to the larger town. Munro[11], indeed, identifies its rock-strewn harbour with the "port of Chytus," which, however, hardly suits the topography of Apollonius: nor is the harbour artificial.

[1] Apoll. Rh. I. 957. Orph. *Arg.* 499: another κρήνη Ἀρτακίη is mentioned in the country of Laestrygones by Homer (*Od.* X. 108).

[2] *Patria Artacia* occurs in an inscription at Sofia. Kalinka, *Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, 428.

[3] Dumont, *Inscrr. de la Thrace*, 33. Cf. the lost epithet of Aphrodite in Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρτάκη.

[4] V. I. [5] Anaximenes frag. 4 = Str. 635. Steph. Byz.

[6] Steph. Byz. Cf. Plin. v. 40 Artacaeon cum oppido. [7] Hdt. IV. 14.

[8] *Ib.* VI. 33. Cf. Soph. frag. ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρτάκη.

[9] § 94. [10] 582. [11] 159.

With the decline of Cyzicus must have come the rise of Artaki: we have no evidence as to the date of this change, and the process may well have been a gradual one. The transference of importance depended on the silting up of the Cyzicene ports which had shewn a tendency in that direction as early as the first century. It was probably averted for a century or two after Constantine for the benefit of the new capital, but the decay of Cyzicus had evidently begun[1] at the time of the earthquake when Justinian spoiled it of its marbles for S. Sophia. The Byzantines cling—as does the church to-day—to the old name, and it is significant that Pachymeres in his account of the Catalans refers throughout to Cyzicus[2], when Muntaner's account shews that Artaki was the real capital, and even gave its name to the peninsula at that date (early fourteenth century); while but a hundred years earlier the Franks knew it as Eskisia. The form Ὑρτάκιον[3]—apparently from the Homeric hero Hyrtacus[4] of Arisbe—seems generally used for the peninsula rather than the town.

The town appears to have been an important station of the Italian traders, certainly from 1265 on, at which date Michael Paleologus conceded the Venetians special facilities for traffic there[5]. The date of the final conquest of the place by the Turks is not known to history, but a curious oral tradition is preserved to the effect that the citizens headed by their clergy marched out and surrendered voluntarily to Orkhan, and were rewarded by special privileges secured them by a firman[6].

[1] Yet Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* 135 B.) calls Artaki προάστειον τῆς Κυζίκου πόλεως still.

[2] Cf. II. 529 B. where Artaki is called the port of Cyzicus, but Κύζικος is used by Stephanus (s.v. Arctonnesus) for the *island* as a whole, and the passage of Procopius cited above significantly adds πόλις after Κύζικος.

[3] Cantac. II. 6; *Act. Patr. Const.* II. 110; but in the Treaty of Michael Palaeologus, 1265 (*Sber. Bayr. Akad.* 1850, p. 184. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, III. 79), the town is called Ὑρτάκιον, Ritachio. For the form cf. Theodorus *Hyrtacenus* (Boissonade, *Anec.* II. 407). Ἀρτάκη is used of the peninsula perhaps as early as 610. Theoph. I. 250.

[4] *Il.* II. 837.

[5] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, III. 79.

[6] Cf. the anonymous author of the Γεωγραφικὰ Ὅρια τῆς Κυζίκου:

p. 215. Ὅτε δὲ ὁ Ὀσμὰν ἴδρυσε τὸ ἐν Προύσῃ Τουρκικὸν βασίλειον καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ὀρχὰν ἀκατάσχετος κατήρχετο ἵνα διαβὰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πήξῃ τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ καὶ

Dindymon.

The only ancient site which now remains to be sought on the peninsula is that of the temple of Cybele on Mount Dindymon. The name is variously derived (1) from the whirling dance of the Galli (*δινέω*): (2) from the twins born to Bacchus by Aura—a purely literary fable[1], (3) from its two headlands[2], or (4) from its two peaks[3]. It should be noticed that (2), (3) and (4) all assume that Dindymus = Didymus; Pliny indeed calls the mountain Didymus[4] and Catullus uses the same form (Didyma) of the Pessinuntine Dindyma[5].

Of the derivations (4) is certainly the correct one; this is borne out by the Byzantine name of the Milesian Didymi (*φρούριον τῶν δύο βουνῶν*)[6] and by the existence in this very neighbourhood (near Aboulliond) of a double-peaked hill still named Didymos: the "holy mount" of Didyma in Thessaly[7] and Didymi in Argolis with its sanctuary of Demeter[8] are other instances of religious associations of the double hill[9].

The name Dindymus seems to have been properly applied to a particular mountain of the system, which from its prominence, physical or religious, gave its name to the whole island or peninsula. Appian[10] certainly speaks of the whole as Dindymon, while Pliny[11] differentiates between Didymis, the whole mass, and Didymus the mountain of Cybele.

ἐν Εὐρώπῃ, οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ ἐξῆλθον μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου αὐτῶν εἰς προυπάντησιν καὶ ὡμολόγησαν ὑποταγήν. Ὁ Ὀρχὰν εὐαρεστηθεὶς διέταξε νὰ μείνῃ ἄθικτος ἡ Κύζικος καὶ ἐχορήγησε τοῖς Κυζικηνοῖς προνόμια καὶ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ κλήρῳ ἵνα φέρῃ χαρακτηριστικὸν τῆς εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ σύμβολον (p. 216) *ταινίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλυμμαυχίου. Τὸ φερμάνιον τὸ περιλαμβάνον τὰ προνόμια ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκεν ἤδη ἡ πρὸ ἡμῶν γενεά. Ἂν δὲ κεῖται που παρεβλημένον ἢ ἂν ἀπώλετο ἔν τινι τῶν σεισμῶν ἢ πυρκαίων...ἄδηλον.* The legend is told in a slightly different form by G. Cyzicenus (f. 66), who says that the Artacenes brought the keys of the castle (!) to Brusa. He, however, denies that either firman or privileges existed in his day (1825).

[1] *Etym. Mag.* s.v. The legend is too seriously treated by Panofka in *Ann. dell' Inst.* v. 1833, 284.

[2] Philosteph. ap. Sch. Ap. Rh. I. 985. [3] *Ib.*

[4] *N.H.* v. 40. [5] LXIII. 91. [6] Pachym. II. 211 B.

[7] Str. 647. Cf. Steph. Byz. [8] Frazer, *Paus.* II. 263.

[9] Ramsay, *Ath. Mitth.* XIII. 237, 9, quotes a Μήτηρ Ζιζιμηνὴ = Δινδυμηνὴ from Laodicea (at Konia, *A.-E. Mitth.* XIX. 31 and *J.H.S.* XXII. 341 (64), 342 (65, 65 A), where there was a mountain Didyma (Steph. Byz. s.v.). See also Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 227 note, and *Class. Rev.* 1905, p. 367 ff.

[10] *Bell. Mith.* 75, 76. [11] V. 40.

It is possible that the modern name Kapu Dagh ("Gate Mountain") refers under another image to the double peak, in which case we should look for traces of the shrine between the peaks of Adam Kaya and Dédé Bair[1]. On the other hand, Kapu Dagh may be a corruption of *Cabo Artaki*. The derivations are not mutually exclusive.

We are justified, certainly, in seeking the important prehistoric shrine outside the limits of the city, and the details of the Argonautic legend are quite in harmony with this idea.

Between Cyzicus and Peramo there stands a double-peaked mountain, called to-day by the Greeks Didymos[2], which harmonises well with the little we know of the ancient holy mountain. It is comparatively isolated, which may account for Strabo's μονοφυές[3], there is a spring (called marmaráki) half-way up[4] and a wood in the saddle between the two peaks[5]. On the easternmost are slight traces of a small building roughly built of unhewn granite blocks: the site commands a fine view on both sides, extending in clear weather to Constantinople[6]. The spot is marked *Dervis* on the map of Pococke, perhaps referring to the wild dancing mentioned below.

That so famous a shrine should leave no trace of marble or worked blocks may be accounted for if we suppose that Jason's temple remained in its primitive crudeness (Apollonius is peculiarly reticent as to the temple itself), like the early temple of Apollo at Delos, when the worship was transferred to a more magnificent shrine lower down, perhaps in the city itself. Certainly any site with conspicuous remains would be recognised by the inhabitants of the peninsula, who know their ground very thoroughly owing to their continued searches for the reputed buried treasures of the pirate Manoules[7].

[1] There are indeed traces of a rough stone building in the saddle, locally called Yurukides, and thought to be an ancient Turkish cemetery. Dédé Bair, with its cairns and boulders, is decidedly more *ὀκριόεις* than Didymos: but the continued religious associations of the latter are in favour of its identification with the ancient Dindymus.

[2] The name may not be genuine, but I never heard *Dindymos*, which is so far in favour of it.

[3] p. 576. [4] Cf. Ap. Rh. I. 1149. [5] Cf. *ib.* 1117.

[6] *Ib.* I. 1114, *φαίνετο δ' ἠερόεν στόμα Βοσπόρου* etc.

[7] Dr Constantinides tells me that the already mythical Manoules really flourished only some fifty years ago. He is possibly the famous Manoli of Kasos, of whom an

The Byzantine accounts of the Argonaut legend tell us that tradition regarded a certain church of the Virgin Mother of God, founded by Zeno, as occupying the site of Jason's temple[1]. At the foot of Didymos, in a fertile little plain surrounded by wooded hills, stands the important monastery of the Παναγία Θεοτόκος Φανερωμένη, which, owing to the miraculous healing powers of its picture, reputed a work of S. Luke, is the religious centre of the island. Malkotzes speaks of the church as a bone of contention between the Archbishopric and Peramo on account of its revenues, and scandals in connection with it were the ostensible cause of a late Latin mission to Peramo[2]. The picture is a very large and ordinary looking *eikon* of the Virgin and Child with the usual clumsy votive haloes and hands affixed: according to one tradition it was stolen by a Turk from the monastery of Kurshunlu and lost by him: it came into the hands of a villager of Yappaji Keui, who handed it over to the monastery. The present church is modern and garish, but replaces a humbler ancient structure; outside it lie several large Byzantine capitals, perhaps survivals from a still earlier church of some pretensions, while on the outer wall hang the discarded crutches of cured cripples. The church stands within a court round which are rooms for the accommodation of patients. Even before the construction of this Malkotzes assessed the yearly number of pilgrims at 2,000[3].

The cures of the Panagia Phaneromene are associated, as is usual at such healing shrines, with certain forms of religious

interesting account is given by Newton (*Travels* I. 323 ff.). E. J. Davis also speaks of a Greek islander who "practised" in the Brusa and Smyrna district about this time. I was shewn marks indicating a *cache* of Manoules on Tsavli itself, and to some localities on the mountain an atmosphere of Manoules imparts a certain religious awe. For the benefit of future travellers I may remark that though the scattered treasures are reputed to be found more often by foreigners than by natives, no one has yet succeeded in the quest without the aid of magic. The tradition is interesting as suggesting the crude myth of the Argonautic episode. Another legend of the district, to the effect that the pictures in the monastery church of Kalami were despitefully used by pirates, suggests a very reasonable cause for Cybele's anger against the original Jason. (Cf. also similar legend in Aphysia, Gedeon 63.)

[1] Another Jasonian temple was re-dedicated as a church of Michael by Constantine, Joh. Ant. frag. 15. Cf. Mela I. 101.

[2] Cf. Παπαμιχαλόπουλος, Περιήγησις εἰς τὸν Πόντον, 1903, p. 303.

[3] 1890. The Ἐγκαίνια τῆς Παναγίας Φανερωμένης ἐν Καπού Δάγ are announced in the Constantinople Νεολόγος, July 16, in the same year.

hysteria; but these hysterical phenomena seem also even in modern times to have occurred quite independently of healing or need for healing, and to some extent to have perpetuated the ecstatic traditions of the old Cybele worship. Georgius Cyzicenus, writing in 1825, speaks of these occurrences as a scandal to the church, but gives us no hint that any sickness was supposed to be healed by them. The custom was, he says, for a person to take the picture on his shoulders and run like one possessed over steep and difficult country, the rest following him with pious enthusiasm. There was great competition for the privilege of carrying the picture, but not everyone was hysterically affected by the process. This curious passage, as elsewhere unpublished, is transcribed below[1].

At present, as far as I could learn, the church is frequented at all times of the year, and especially at the *panegyris* (Aug. 23), by sick people of all kinds for the cure. It is considered especially effective for lunatics, who are chained when violent, and remain in the church for an indefinite period, generally forty days, on a fasting diet. The cure is effected, both at such times and at the *panegyris*, by placing the sacred picture in the hands of the patient, he being in a sitting position. The picture is a large and heavy one, but patients, no matter how weak, are always able to support it. The patient is sprinkled with

[1] (f. 71.) *Ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸν Αὔγουστον μῆνα ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἑορτῆς συναθροίζετο πολὺς λαὸς πανταχόθεν καὶ συνεκροτῆτο μεγάλη πανήγυρις, τὸ μὲν χάριν τῆς πρὸς τὴν κυρίαν Θεοτόκον εὐλαβήας, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸ γινόμενον τερατούργημα τῆς εἰκόνος. Δὲν ἰξεύρω πότε παρεισέρρησεν αὕτη ἡ συνηθεία μεταξὺ τῶν χριστιανῶν, τὸ νὰ λαμβάνῃ τις δηλ. τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων καὶ νὰ τρέχῃ τις ὡς ἐνεργούμενος πότε μὲν εἰς ἀναντεῖς καὶ δυσβάτους τόπους, πότε δὲ κατὰ πετρῶν καὶ κρημνῶν καὶ ποταμῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νὰ ἀκολουθῶσι μετὰ θαυμασμοῦ καὶ εὐλαβήας καὶ νὰ γίνεται ἔρις καὶ φιλοτιμία, ποῖος νὰ ἀναδεχθῇ τὴν εἰκόνα διὰ νὰ πράξῃ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀταξίας. εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς ματαίως εἰκονοφοροῦντες, ἐπειδὴ δὲν τρέχουσιν ὡς παράφρονες ἀλλὰ μένουσι σωφρονημένοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἰσὶ τάχα δεκτικοὶ* (f. 72) *τῆς ἐνεργήας καὶ ἴσως τούτων ὁ νοῦς δὲν ἔμενεν ἠλλοκομένος ἀπὸ τὴν μέθην ἢ δὲν ἔχουσι φαντασίαν εὐέξαπτον καὶ εὐκίνητον. Ἐπειδὴ ἐγὼ στοχάζομαι ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄτακτα κυβιστήματα καὶ τῶν Κορυβάντων σκιρτήματα προέρχονται ἀπὸ τὰς δύο ῥίζας, τῆς μέθης δηλ. καὶ τῆς φαντασίας, καὶ ἔχομεν παραδήγματα τῆς ἀταξίας τῶν νευρῶν προερχομένης ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο αἰτίων· καὶ ὅσον μὲν διὰ τὴν μέθην, ἔχομεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ὁποῖα ἐργάζεται, ὅσον δὲ διὰ τὴν φαντασίαν καὶ τὸν θρησκευτικὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν ἔχομεν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὀργίων τὰς βακχικὰς θεομανίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν Τουρκικῶν εἰδήσεων τὴν χορείην τοῦ Ἁγίου Βίτου καὶ τὰ παραφορὰ κηνήματα καὶ περιστροφὰς τῶν Δερβίσιδων. Ὅθεν ἔπρεπεν οἱ πνευματικῶς προϊστάμενοι τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους νὰ καταπαύσουν ταύτας τὰς ἐθνικὰς θεοφορίας διὰ νὰ μὴν γινώμεθα παίγνιον τῶν ἀλλοφύλων.*

holy water and portions of the gospel are read over him; it is then, if at all, that the cure takes place. The picture sways him about and strikes him (*σταβᾷ, κτυπᾷ, δέρνει*) but never does injury. One of my informants had tended a violent lunatic in the church for as much as three months; in such cases patients are sprinkled and exorcised twice a week. Another informant saw a crooked woman cured at the fourth or fifth visit to the church. The cure is only occasionally patronised by Turks, but one known to my second informant made the pilgrimage yearly in gratitude for the cure of his son: the boy had a violent squint and saw nothing, though his eyes were open.

These are, of course, cited as specimen cases, especially for comparison with parallel phenomena at ancient healing shrines[1]. Dr Macris of Artaki, who has frequently visited the *panegyris*, told me he saw nothing which could not be attributed to natural causes, and another of my informants, a highly educated man, whose experience dates back some forty years, described the miracles of his day as scandalous impositions; the "swaying" of the patient by the picture, which is to the illiterate the most tangible part of the miracle, he attributed to the natural effect of the weight in a feeble person's hands. In his day miracles unconnected with healing also occurred: the Panagia "refused" to be carried in procession outside the church, "lifted" devout believers into the air, and "beat" a heretic Armenian who dared to touch the picture. All these phenomena he attributed to natural, if sordid, causes. The refusal of the picture to be carried out was devised to evoke vows from the rustic pilgrims, and was sufficiently accounted for by the people anxious to touch it crowding about the door. This same anxiety was answerable for the "lifting" of the worshippers, who stood on tiptoe and jumped up to touch the picture, while the Armenian was said to have been subsidised to knock against the picture with his head. In bad years, I was told, the picture was mysteriously lost, and, when a sufficient number of vows had been elicited, triumphantly found

[1] On this subject see M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, where ancient, mediaeval, and modern procedures are compared.

hidden in a tree. This last I could not hear of as practised at the present day; it is particularly interesting as a simple explanation of the ancient ceremonies connected with the hiding of Hera[1]. The healing can be dismissed with the usual comment, viz. that all the ailments cited as cured are intimately connected with nervous disorders, though the procedure is tried by the ignorant for such material injuries as broken bones[2]. I may here remark that I have as yet heard of no case of the saint's appearing to the patient in the incubation shrines of this district (Kapudagh, Ulubad, Syki) or at others where I have made enquiries.

It is probably to this church and picture that Cantacuzenus[3] refers as *ἡ τῆς Θεομήτορος ἀχειροποίητος εἰκὼν ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Τρτακίῳ ναὸν οὖσα*, and it is evidently one of the *προσκυνήματα* dependent on the bishopric of Cyzicus mentioned in the Acta Patriarchatus (*τὸ τῆς παυυπεραγίου μου δεσποίνης καὶ Θεομήτορος τῆς Ἀχειροποίητου, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ τροπαιοφόρου Γεωργίου*)[4]: the latter is probably the once important monastery of S. George Egri Déré near Longada[5], which has only comparatively lately fallen into ruin[6]. It is now only one of the many unpretentious monasteries, generally quite simple cells of rough stone, with which the Kapu Dagh, especially around Peramo and Mihaniona, is crowded: many of them, e.g. the Panagia Galatiané[7] (Kalami) near Castelli, and Decapedistria[8] at Katatopo, are said to have been important foundations, and all traditionally owe their ruin to the Crusaders. The quaint epithets of the H. Triada Atzépotas, Panagia

[1] Esp. Hera Lygodesma of Samos.

[2] See below, p. 78 (Ulubad).

[3] II. 6.

[4] II. 108 (1387).

[5] Gedeon (p. 65) mentions a monastery in Aphysia with an identical title: but this would surely have belonged to the diocese of Marmara.

[6] A marble well-head still on the spot was dedicated in 1772. This suggests that the Monasteries of the Kapu Dagh, whose ruin is always attributed to the Crusaders or the Pope, really flourished, like those of Marmara, till the second half of the eighteenth century, and were then eaten up by their co-religionists of Athos and elsewhere.

[7] Locally derived from the "milkstone," which is the attraction of this monastery. The name occurs also in the environs of Constantinople: see Mordtmann's note on the Venetian map, reprinted at Pera, 1889.

[8] From her festival, the 15th August. She is also called Η. Κληθροῦς according to *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 27, 30. Local tradition has it that a great golden rood was carried off from the church (by the Crusaders?) and taken to Constantinople.

Leventiana (near Vathy)[1] and Panagia Kapudagiótissa (near Langada), perhaps deserve recording.

The villages of the peninsula are without a history, and their general condition has probably never been much other than it is now. The mountains, whose fantastic rock forms are evidently the foundation of the early giant legends, are useless for cultivation and obstructive to intercommunication.

Save for Hammamli, a foundation of Bayezid II.[2], Tcheltik Keui or Kuculo[3], and a small portion of the population of Ta Rhoda and Diavathy, the inhabitants are Christian: those of Yappaji Keui and its offshoot Yeni Keui are Macedonian settlers of a hundred and fifty years standing[4], and Ermeni Keui, first mentioned by Prokesch[5] (1831), is as its name implies, Armenian.

The coast villages[6] are barely supported by their tiny plains between the spurs of the hills, and eke out a living by fishing and silk-worm culture. The granite quarrying at Gonia and Ermeni Keui is in Italian hands. Ta Rhoda is mentioned by Uzzano[7] as a place of call for coasters, probably on account of its good water supply[8], and there are slight remains of ancient walls on the shore.

Harakhi[9] was evidently a Greek and Byzantine village site. It possesses remains of a castle, and inscriptions and other worked blocks are occasionally found there[10]. The age of these coast villages is unknown, and the reputed Cretan origin of

[1] Gedeon (p. 35) mentions it as Παναγία τῶν Λεβεντίδων, quoting from a document. "Leventi" is an equivalent of "Pallicari" in the folk songs, and was the name given to the (largely Greek) sailors of the Turkish fleet (cf. Tournefort, p. 471; Cantemir, tr. Tindal, p. 403, *note*).

[2] *J.H.S.* XXII. 177.

[3] Sestini 54. Lechevalier I. 26. Prokesch 254.

[4] They are said by Malkotzes to speak a Bulgarian dialect. There are several Cappadocian Greek families in the lower village.

[5] p. 234. Said by De Rustafjaell to be 150 years old (*J.H.S.* XXII. 176): Malkotzes says 100.

[6] Kiepert's map gives only the Turkish names of these villages: his *Sheitanly* = Gk Katatopo, *Kodja Burgaz* = Langada, *Sham Burgaz* = Diavathy, *Kestel* = Kastelli. Cuinet (IV. 280) says that antiquities are often found at the latter.

[7] I. 226. [8] See *Sailing Directions*, 1867, 14.

[9] The name suggests Χαράκιον. De Rustafjaell boldly calls it Heraclea (*J.H.S.* XXII. 175), Kiepert Karakioi.

[10] Cf. Michaud II. 31. Texier II. 108.

Harakhi and Mihaniona are probably due to nothing more than local schoolmasters' philology[1]. Mihaniona and Peramo are first mentioned by Gerlach, and the traditions of Peramo go back at least as early as the Turkish wars, when the inhabitants are said to have moved temporarily away from the coast.

[1] Based on the resemblance of the names to Ἡράκλειον and Χάνια.

CHAPTER III.

THE ISLANDS[1].

NORTH and west of the Cyzicene peninsula the Propontis is studded with islands of various sizes: of these the largest and most important is Marmara (the ancient Proconnesus) which gives its name to the group.

Marmara.

It is roughly oval in shape, measuring about eleven miles long by six-and-a-half broad, and is administered from the village of Marmara on the south-west coast. Its population, like those of the other islands, is almost entirely Greek[2].

The island is steep and rugged, especially at the western end, the picturesque village capital lying under the highest part: the lower eastern portion, however, affords some scope for the culture of the vine. The chief wealth of the island consists in the marble of which its mountains are composed. This is described as a soft white stone, sometimes white with gray banded streaks closely resembling gray carystian[3]. It is still quarried at Palatia, and Buondelmonti's map shews the stone pier (*pons lapideus*) from which the marble was shipped. Proconnesian marble was used in classical times not only for buildings of Cyzicus[4], but further afield for the palace of Mausolus[5] at Halicarnassus and for a temple at Heraclea Pontica[6]: it retained its repute into Byzantine times and was used for many of the

[1] The extent of my debt to M. Gedeon's monograph will be easily perceived: future travellers in Marmara will probably reap a rich harvest of inscriptions which they will owe to their precursor's zeal in impressing on the islanders the value of such monuments.

[2] That is Greek-speaking. There is possibly an admixture of Albanian blood; see below, p. 34. Zachariades mentions also a Jewish colony in the capital.

[3] Lethaby and Swainson, *S. Sophia*, p. 237. Caryophilus, *de Ant. Marm.* p. 18.

[4] Str. 589.

[5] Vitr. II. 8. Cf. X. 7.

[6] Phot. p. 229, Bekk.

buildings of Constantinople[1], including S. Sophia, and later still by the Turks for the Ahmediyeh and other buildings[2]: it was also a favourite material for the sarcophagi of the Byzantine emperors[3].

The name Proconnesus is variously derived:

(1) From *πρὸξ*[4] or *προκὰς*[5] a kind of deer identical with *νεβρός*—this is probably the right derivation as the island was also called Elaphonnesus[6], *Νεβρίς*[7] or *Νεβρία*[8], and the formation is similar to that of Arctonnesus.

(2) From *πρόχοος* a pitcher, commemorating an omen given to the settlers by a woman of the country[9].

Hence the coins of Proconnesus bear either a deer or a pitcher as "types parlants."

(3) From *προσχόω* and *νῆσος*[10]—a mere subtlety of the Grammarians, on the assumption, doubtless backed by a giant legend, that it had not always been an island.

The Byzantines generally write *Προικόννησος*, as from *προῖξ*, *προικὸς*, which is apparently the derivation favoured by the *Etymologicum Magnum* on the ground that the island furnished to all other islands a dowry of marble! It is possible that the real explanation is to be found in some forgotten myth analo-

[1] Zos. II. 30; Theoph. Cont. 141, 145, 146, 147; Euagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* III. 28. Cf. Migne, *Pat. Gr.* XXXV. 281; Paul. Silent. 576, 606, 664. Cf. Lethaby and Swainson, *S. Sophia*, p. 237; Strzygowsky, *Wasserbehälter*, p. 255, who traces the marble by masons' marks to Ravenna. The quarries are mentioned in the second of the Letters of Brutus (see p. 183 n.) and in the Cod. Theodos. XI. 28.

[2] Sandys 27; Thos. Smith (*Notitia Cp.*) p. 118; Hobhouse 819. Cf. Hunt p. 87. The quarries were in Turkish times worked by *corvée*, the quarrymen receiving in return certain privileges (Dallaway 368, La Mottraye 472. Cf. Sandys 27).

[3] Codinus, *Περὶ τῶν τάφων passim*; Const. Porph. *de Caerim.* I. 643 ff. Proconnesian marble is mentioned as the material of sarcophagi in the funerary inscriptions, *C.I.G.* 3268, 3282, 3386; Dumont, *Inscrr. de la Thrace*, 70.

[4] *Etym. Mag.* s.v. *Προικόννησος.*

[5] Sch. Ap. Rh. II. 279.

[6] Plin. V. 40, but Scylax (94) distinguishes them as two islands.

[7] Plin. *Neuris.* [8] Theoph. Cont. 437 B.

[9] Theoph. Cont. *ad loc.* (*Προικόννησον*) *ἥντινα Νεβρίαν ὠνομασμένην ἐκ τῆς κατὰ χρησμὸν δεδομένης προχόου ἄποικοι Σαμίων μετωνόμασαν, οἷς ἀφικομένοις πρὸς νῆσον..... ἀριστοποιουμένοις τε ἀωρία ἐτύγχανεν ὀπόθεν ὕδωρ κομίσοιντο· γυνὴ δέ τις ἔφη αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἔχετε πρόχοον δώσω ὑμῖν ὕδωρ· ὅπερ λαβόντες, ὡς ὁ χρησμὸς, καὶ γῆν ἐξητήσαντο, τῆς δὲ καὶ ταύτην δεδωκυίας Πρόχοον τὴν νῆσον ὠνόμασαν καὶ τοῖς ἀργυροῖς νομίσμασιν πρόχοον εἰκόνιζον.*

[10] Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.; *Etym. Mag.*

gous to the Cyzicene legend of the dowry of Persephone[1]. The modern name Marmara, which has been taken over by the Turks, is used consistently in the early Italian navigators[2]. In the Crusading period the names were both in vogue: *Proeconiso* is used in the *Partitio Romaniae*, *Marmara* by Villehardouin[3].

To return to history: the island was colonized from Miletus[4], and served like Cyzicus as a stepping-stone to the Euxine. The Milesian colony was ruled by a tyrant Metrodorus under Darius[5], took part in the Ionian revolt, and was sacked by the Phoenician fleet[6]. Later it became a member of the Delian league. Commercial jealousy may have been the reason for the deportation of its inhabitants by Cyzicus[7] in the fourth century. In the Byzantine age it was cruelly exposed to every invader of the capital[8], and was used like the Principo Islands chiefly as a place of banishment[9], especially for refractory priests[10].

Many of the banished saints are still commemorated in Marmara and the other islands. The calendar published by Gedeon includes *panegyreis* in honour of S. Nicolas of Studium (Marmara, Feb. 4)[11], S. Macarius of Pelecete (Aphisia, Apr. 1)[12], S. John of Kathara (Aphisia, Apr. 27)[13], S. Hilarion of Dalmata (Aphisia, June 6)[14], S. (ὅσιος) Timotheus (all islands,

[1] App. *Bell. Mith.* I. 75.

[2] Tomaschek, 3; cf. Uzzano 226. [3] 245, Ducange.

[4] Str. 587. Theoph. Cont. (437 B.) is probably in error as to the *Samians*. *Etym. Mag.* (s.v. Προικόννησος) speaks of Milesians in the same legend.

[5] Hdt. IV. 138. [6] Hdt. VI. 33. [7] Paus. VIII. 46.

[8] Theoph. Cont. 196 (Russians in the reign of Theophilus); *ibid.* 299; Cedr. II. 227 (Saracens from Crete in 866); G. Pachy. II. 529 (Catalans in 1307).

[9] Stephanus (son of Romanus Lacapenus), A.D. 945 (Cedr. II. 325, Zon. III. 481, Theoph. Cont. 437, Leo Gram. 330, Sym. Mag. 753–4), and Basilius Peteinos (Cedr. II. 342), Theophano, A.D. 970 (Zon. III. 521).

[10] The patriarchs, Nicephorus, 815 (Cedr. II. 56, Zon. III. 325), Michael Cerularius, 1058 (Scyl. 644), Arsenius, 1258 (G. Pachy. I. 271—for the monastery of Suda see Gedeon p. 12—cf. II. 83. Niceph. Greg. I. 95), and of the saints noticed below: Nicolas, Macarius, John, Hilarion, Theodore, Stephanus and Philetaerus; all but the last were exiled during the iconoclastic period. Hierocles' ἐξορία and Photius 82, Bekker (cf. *Vita Chrysostomi* LXXV. 22, Migne) shew that this was the recognised use of the island. Philetaerus is said by the *Synax. C'politanum* to have been sent to the quarries.

[11] Under Leo Armenus (Migne, *P.G.* CV. 912).

[12] Under Michael Balbus; cf. *Anal. Boll.* XVI. 140 ff.

[13] c. 713. [14] c. 845.

Aug. 1)[1], S. Bassa (Halone, Aug. 21), S. Theodore Graptos (Marmara, Oct. 11)[2], S. Stephanus, jun. (Marmara, Nov. 28)[3], S. Philetaerus (Marmara, Dec. 30)[4].

Proconnesus was the seat of a Byzantine bishop, and became an independent archbishopric as early as the ninth century[5], a metropolis in 1824[6].

The alleged granting of the island by Emmanuel Comnenus in 1115 to a John Comnenus is backed only by a forged deed, purporting to be the renewal of the grant in 1224 by Manuel Comnenus to George Marmora and his successors[7].

Under the Latin Empire Marmara fell to Pierre de Braiecuel[8] and became a Latin bishopric[9]. The Catalans made an attempt on it in 1307, and in 1315 it is mentioned among the islands granted by Philip of Tarentum, prince of Achaia (as titular Emperor of Constantinople), to Martin Zaccaria[10]: we have, however, no evidence that the deed was ever carried into effect. No tradition has come down to us of the capture of the island by the Turks. Under their administration it was tributary to the Voivode of Galata[11].

[1] S. Timotheus is said to have come to the islands under Justinian and to have converted the inhabitants from their barbarous manner of life—they lived by plunder from wrecks and from boats which put in during stormy weather. The Life of Timotheus is commented on by Gedeon, who pronounces it most untrustworthy and even devoid of truth in local colour. The cell of S. Timotheus is still shewn (Gedeon, pp. 120—123).

[2] c. 834. Migne, *P.G.* CXVI. 669–72.

[3] Migne, *P.G.* c. 1178.

[4] May 19 in *Acta SS.* (under Maximian).

[5] Ignatius (879) is the first archbishop in Gedeon's list.

[6] Gedeon, p. 14.

[7] Printed in the preface of Andrea Marmora's *Historia di Corfu*, 1672 (Gk and Lat.) and Dapper, p. 491 (French). It is discredited by Hopf. ("Veneto-Byzantinische Analecten" in *Sitzber. k. k. Akad. zu Wien*, 1860, XXXII. p. 508). Cf. Gedeon, p. 152. Finlay's copy of the *Historia di Corfu* has the following MS. note:—"This is a forgery: the title proves it. It may have been framed on some document of Manuel of Epirus, Emperor of Thessalonica 1230—1232. The indiction would really be XII. 16."

[8] Villehardouin, § 245.

[9] Lequien III. 945 (Marmorensis); cf. the 13th c. Provincial in Mas Latrie, *Trésor*. A 17th century Latin Mission to Marmara is mentioned by Carayon (ed. Legrand, p. 57).

[10] L. de Gongora, *Real Grandeza de la Republica di Genova* (Madrid and Genova, 1665–7), Tit. VIII. No. 22 (May 26, 1315).

[11] Gedeon, p. 219: the revenues of Marmara were sold for 5 purses (£350), those of Aphisia and Kutali for 400—600 dollars (Pococke).

Marmara now possesses six villages, Marmara (the capital), Prasteio (Προαστεῖον?), Klazaki, and Aphtone on the south coast, Palatia on the north, and Galimi on the west[1]. There are said to be mediaeval castles at Marmara, Palatia (presumably the large marble and brick ruin figured by Texier[2]), and above Galimi[3]. The latter is mentioned by Pachymeres as Γαληνολιμὴν[4], while the northern harbour of Petali is mentioned as a stage on the journey from Constantinople to Jerusalem by the Abbot Daniel (1106)[5]. Klazaki is said by Gedeon[6] to be a miserable place owing to the curse laid on it by a bishop: the cause was probably the apostasy of the inhabitants who hoped by this means to avoid paying *kharatch*[7]: "the Porte," Dallaway continues, "unwilling to encourage them at the expense of the revenue, and fearing the prevalence of example, imposed a double tax on them in future." The Turkish remedy explains the efficacy of the episcopal curse[8]. Aphtone is of Albanian origin (which Covel claims for all the Marmara villages except the capital) and the language is still spoken by the older people. Gedeon refers the settlement to the early years of the 18th century[9], but Covel already, in 1677, calls it Ἀρβανιτοχώρι (Albanian village).

Of the monasteries in the island most have fallen into a decayed state, except S. Nicholas (between Aphtone and Palatia), which seems from Gedeon's account to be of considerable dimensions, the extreme length being over 15 metres[10]. In-

[1] Pococke's map marks a seventh, Gamialo, between Aphtone and Palatia, and Gedeon (pp. 157, 219), a village Τετράγωνον, which, he says, is mentioned in Turkish records down to 1760.

[2] Pl. 43, where it is called the Palace of Justinian. Schweigger (1576, in Feyerabend's *Reyssbuch* II. 92) has the following curious note:—"In Proeconniso ist vor Zeiten ein schön Amphitheatrum, Schauhauss oder Spielhauss von lauter Marmor gewesen eines aus der sieben Wunderwercken der Welt"—presumably a confusion with Cyzicus.

[3] Gedeon, p. 155. Cf. Texier II. 167 and the Admiralty chart.

[4] I. 288. Cf. 286 and Gedeon 128.

[5] ed. Noroff, pp. 5, 6.

[6] p. 102.

[7] p. 367.

[8] Zachariades (409) refers the curse to S. Timotheus without giving the cause: the effect, he says, was an earthquake, since which time the village has never grown beyond 39 houses: when a new one is built an old one falls down.

[9] p. 109, but cp. p. 159, where he says this is the traditional date, but that he found Albanian names on pictures at S. Nicholas, dating from the 17th century.

[10] p. 115.

scriptions are surprisingly numerous, and smaller remains are found in many localities. I shall perhaps be pardoned for inserting among the antiquities of the island the following account of a *βρουκόλακας* in Marmara[1]:—

"One Yané *σύρμα ρέϊς*, of the Ile Marmora, severally excoicated, at last coming home suspected his wife's chastity, stampt her on the belly and broke her neck down staires; her mother excoicated him a new; he dyes, being protected by the Turkes, whome he served in many things. At last, 2 years after, his freinds, fearing so many excoications upon him hindered his dissolution, digg'd him up, found him intire, hair, nayles, etc., onely very black. They got a *συγχώρησιν* from the Abp.: it would not serve turn, for a yeare after they found him still entire: at last came the mother of his wife and desir'd his pardon likewise, saying she was now satisfyed that God had testifyed the innocence of her daughter: upon the Arp's fresh *συγχώρησιν* he was dissolved in a very little time. This was asserted to me by several men of credit, especially Sr D. T., Sr D. P., & Sr D. H."

Pasha Liman.

Of the other islands, Pasha Liman, opposite the western point of the Kapu Dagh, retains also its ancient name, Halone, certainly not, as Gedeon would have it, a corruption of *Αὐλωνία*, but rather "so called of the forme of a yard in which oxen use to grinde corne or beate it small[2]." The island is mentioned by Pliny (*Halone cum oppido*[3]), by Pachymeres as *Ἁλώνιον*[4], and in the legend of S. Bassa[5]. The island has three villages, Pasha Liman and Halone on the well-sheltered western bay, and Vory (*Βῶρυ*) to the north. Halone is the seat of the Archbishop of Proconnesus[6]. The island is said by Palerne to have been settled by Albanians under a renegade pasha[7]: it is low-lying and has a considerable export wine-trade, mentioned as early as Mottraye.

In Pasha Liman Gedeon found ruins at Khoukhlia which he conjectures to represent the *oppidum* mentioned by Pliny[8], and at the same place a very ancient boustrophedon inscription[9]. As in the other islands there are here many remains of monasteries,

[1] From Covel, MS. 22,912, f. 465. For the superstition see Polites' *Παραδόσεις*.

[2] Fynes Moryson. [3] v. 40.

[4] II. 585. Uzzano mentions the island as *Andanun*, p. 226.

[5] *Synaxarion*, Aug. 21. Bassa was martyred under Maximian: it is, however, uncertain whether she died in Halone or at Cyzicus: according to local legend her remains were washed ashore at Halone. Her *ἁγίασμα* is still to be seen there (Gedeon, p. 37).

[6] For at least two centuries (Gedeon, p. 194).

[7] ch. xcix. Gedeon (55) remarks that the names in Halone are curious and foreign-sounding. The island is sometimes called *Βούργαρα*, from a Bulgarian colony.

[8] p. 28. [9] Pl. A, 3.

mostly ruined or meanly rebuilt within the last 150 years: Paradeision has still eight or ten monks. At Vory is a church of S. Anna with a hermit's cell, the former a foundation, the latter the dwelling of S. Stephen the younger[1]. The church of S. Anna is frequented as a healing shrine[2].

Aphisia.

Aphisia or Arablar (the latter name from a colony of Arabs on the eastern bay[3]) appears to be Scylax' Elaphonnesus, "an island with a good harbour cultivated by the Proconnesians[4]": the anchorage between it and Pasha Liman is protected on the north by the small island of Kutáli. Aphisia is probably also the old Proconnesus of Strabo, possibly the Ophiussa of Pliny: but Diogenes of Cyzicus[5] mentions an island *Physia* distinct from Ophiussa. In the Byzantine writers the name is spelt Aphousia[6], and the island is mentioned most frequently as a place of banishment[7].

The condition of the island is backward owing to lack of boats, church lands, and damage done to the vines. It has two villages, Arablar on the east and Aphisia (Greek) on the west coast. At the latter are ruins of a Church of the Trinity, of which Gedeon records a curious superstition. It was believed that if a sailor was detained by adverse winds on his homeward voyage, the wind could be changed if his relations at home made the circuit of the ruins burning incense the while[8].

[1] He was exiled to Proconnesus, founded a monastery of S. Anna, and lived in a cave called Κισσοῦδα: see *Vita S. Stephani junioris* (Migne, *Patr. Grec.* c. p. 1178). The effigy of S. Stephen appears on a Byzantine bishop's seal (Schlumberger, *Sigillographie* 199, p. 732).

[2] Zachariades (p. 405) describes it as λίαν θαυματουργός, adding that many pilgrims flock to it at the *panegyris* from the islands and the Kapu Dagh, θεραπευόμενοι διὰ τῶν συνηθῶν τρόπων, ξυποκοπημάτων δηλαδὴ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

[3] Le Bruyn 67. [4] 94.

[5] Ap. Steph. Byz., s.v. Βέσβικος.

[6] *Anal. Boll.* XVI. 159, διὰ τὸ ἀπεῖναι τὴν κατευθείαν, ὡς οἶμαι, οὕτω καλουμένη (!).

[7] Theoph. I. 774. Sons of Constantine VI., 812 A.D. *Acta SS.* and *Synaxaria*, June 5 (Hilarion of Dalmata, c. 834; for his ἀγίασμα, cf. Gedeon, p. 73); Apr. 1 (Macarius of Pelecete, c. 829); Apr. 17 (John of Kathara, c. 713); Dec. 26 (Theodore Graptos; cf. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* CXVI. 669—672).

[8] Gedeon, p. 63, Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τοῦ χωρίου, κυρίως αἱ μητέρες, ἀδελφαί, καὶ σύζυγοι τῶν ἀποδημούντων ναυτῶν, πᾶσαι πιστεύουσιν—ἢ τοὐλάχιστον ἐπίστευον ἄλλοτέ ποτε—ὅτι δῆθεν εἴπερ ὁ ναυτιλλόμενος ἔμενε μακρὰν τῆς πατρίδος ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἀντιξόων κωλυόμενος νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ, ἤρκει νὰ θυμιάσωσιν αὗται περιφερόμεναι περὶ τὰ ἐρείπια ταῦτα τρὶς, ὅπως μεταβάλωσι τὴν διεύθυνσιν τῶν ἀνέμων καὶ εὐκολύνωσι τὴν ἐπάνοδον.

Kutáli.

The ancient name of Kutáli is unknown: the modern, derived from its skyline[1], is already of respectable antiquity[2]. The island is mostly under cultivation, and the one village, with its large and well-built houses, has a very prosperous appearance: many of the inhabitants are deep-sea sailors. Kutali contains several churches, none of importance. According to tradition the Franks in the 13th century sacked the one great monastery[3]. Small antiquities are said to have been found on the site of the old (but restored) church of the Ῥόδον Ἀμάραντον, which contains an ancient relief[4].

Le Bruyn[5] and Castellan[6] give Gadaro among the four larger islands. This appears from Pococke's map to be incorrect, Gadaro being there identical with the islet called Khersizada.

The other names given in Pliny's list[7]—Acanthus, Phoebe[8], Scopelos, Porphyrione, Delphacie, and Polydora[9]—cannot be attributed to individual islands of the Cyzicus archipelago, which includes many satellites of the larger islands, west of the peninsula, and a small group of rocky islets—the Mola islands[10]—off the eastern point of the same. Gedeon[11] found traces of ancient occupation even on Gerà and Koyun-adassi.

Under the Turks the inhabitants of the islands supplied recruits for the fleet[12], and their fishermen were required to make an annual journey to the Black Sea to fetch a particular kind of sand, which, being deposited off Seraglio point, bred oysters for the Grand Signior's table[13]. The almost unmixed character of the population preserves the islands from many of the disadvantages of the Turkish Government. From the records published in M. Gedeon's monograph, it appears that the inhabitants, owing to their vineyards, quarries, and fisheries, were

[1] Κουτάλι = *spoon*.
[2] Cf. Niceph. Greg. LXXXVIII.; Cantac. I. 251, 313.
[3] Gedeon, p. 83.
[4] *Ib.* p. 79.
[5] p. 67.
[6] II. ch. 22.
[7] v. 40.
[8] Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Besbicus.
[9] Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v.
[10] Of these only S. Andreas is cultivated (Malkotzes, p. 255) and none are inhabited. Sathas (Μεσ. Βιβλ. III. 565) cites a sigillion of 1626 περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀντικρὺ Μηχανιῶνος μονδρίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Μούρμουρα κτισθέντος.
[11] p. 317.
[12] Gedeon 54 etc.
[13] Dapper 491.

fairly prosperous in the middle of the eighteenth century: their trade began to decline with the opening of the nineteenth, and this depression brought about the mortgaging of the church lands, which form a great part of the available tillage, to the great monasteries of Athos, the Λειμὼν in Lesbos, and S. Nicholas of Andros, and elsewhere. The result has been that in the case of Marmara one-third of the cultivated land has been thus alienated, while the coming of steam has still further handicapped the petty commerce of the islands.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MAINLAND: PHYSICAL FEATURES[1].

General Contours.

THE mainland behind Cyzicus from Karabogha to Mudania is for the most part a plateau cut off by hills from the sea, and backed by others forming the second step to the main watershed. It may be conveniently divided into the basins of the Bigha, Gunen, and Mihallitch rivers, which flow through the only gaps in the coast hills. The Mihallitch river, whose valley is physically and commercially one of the great arteries of the country, accounts with its tributaries for more than two-thirds of the land under discussion; from the west it receives the water of the undulating plateau which, centring in the lake of Manyas, forty feet above sea-level, extends eastwards to the barely perceptible boundary of the Gunen river basin: from the east it carries off the water of the corresponding plain, draining into the lake of Aboulliond, and of the Nilufer valley, which lies between this plain and the sea.

Rivers.

Between the point of Kara-Bogha and the isthmus of Cyzicus there are but two rivers worthy of the name—the Bigha Chai, with its tributaries, and the Gunen Chai. Both spring from the ridge of Ida called Cotylus by Demetrius of Scepsis[2] and take a general north-easterly direc-

[1] For a more detailed account of the physical geography of the district reference may be made to Tchihatcheff's work on the natural history of Asia Minor. Of earlier travellers, Wheler, Covel, Pococke and others notice botany, and Texier and Hamilton geology. Of Dr Alfred Philippson's geological tour only a *Vorläufiger Bericht* has as yet appeared (*Sitz. Berl. Acad.* 1902, 68 ff.).

[2] Ap. Strab. 602.

tion towards the Marmora. Strabo's description of the coast shews us that we must recognise in these rivers the Granicus (Bigha Chai) and Aesepus (Gunen Chai) of history, so called from Homer[1] and Hesiod[2] downwards.

Bigha Chai (Granicus).

Both the Granicus and its eastern tributary pass through a good deal of plain country[3] as they approach the sea, and the main stream enters the sea through a broad gap in the line of the coast hills. Its ancient lower course, according to Kiepert, passed slightly west of the present, through what is now the small and rapidly vanishing lake of Edje Gueul. The western tributary of the Granicus, called Kara Atly Chai or Khodja Bashi Chai, is identified by Demetrius of Scepsis[4] with the Homeric Rhesus[5].

The upper waters of the Aesepus[6] flow through a broad and well-tilled upland valley—the modern department of Avunia; after leaving the mountain country, the river passes through the plain of Gunen, where it receives a fair-sized tributary from the west and then bores itself a tortuous way through the barrier of hills; it enters the sea, forming an extensive coast-plain at its mouth, about half-way between the Granicus and Cyzicus.

Gunen Chai (Aesepus).

By the Crusaders of Barbarossa's expedition[7] Granicus is called Diga (for Pega) and Aesepus Aveloaica, Anelonica, Avelonica, probably corruptions of Αὐλωνιτικός[8].

[1] *Il.* XII. 19.

[2] *Theog.* 342. The name of Granicus was, however, inconsistently derived from an Aeolian settler (Str. 582).

[3] Cf. Str. 587 τὰ πολλὰ δι' Ἀδραστείας πεδίου.

[4] Ap. Str. 602: Demetrius is uncertain, putting forward also the possibility of the identification Rhesus = Rhoeites, an unknown river.

[5] Kiepert identifies the Khodja Bashi with the Homeric Caresus. Cf. however Str. 603, where Caresus is said to flow into Aesepus. The whole question is a barren one, since Demetrius' uncertainty shews that the names were no longer in use in classical times and consequently that our own guesses are as good or as bad as his. Demetrius' *Rhodius*, for instance, which rose 60 stades from the Fair Pine and fell into the Aeneus (?) was certainly not the Rhodius of the Abydene coins, but possibly the Gulle Chai (Tk. Gulle, from *gul* "rose," literally = Ῥόδιος) of the Granicus system: the name Ῥόδιος occurs in an inscription of Bighashehr (v. 94).

[6] Modern Gunen Chai, the upper waters At Kayassi Su (Horse-rock-water), Kazdagh-Su (Goose-mountain-water), Tchihat. I. 210.

[7] Ansbert, Tageno, Anon. Canisii.

[8] So Tomaschek. Lassara, the name given by early map-makers to Aesepus

Kara-déré (Tarsius?).

The third river of this district, called indifferently Kara Su, Kara-déré Su, or Ak-Chai, rises in the same ridge as the Granicus and Aesepus, and flows like them in a general north-easterly direction till it enters the lake of Manyas towards the south-eastern extremity; at a point only slightly east of its entrance it leaves the lake and makes its way first east, then north-east, and again east, across the plain to join the great river at Mihallitch: the only important tributary is the stream flowing south-east from behind Panderma, which I have called conjecturally Stribos[1].

The Kara Su thus conveys into the Mihallitch river the whole of the water of the eastern plateau. This latter is cut off from the sea by hills which rise in some cases, as for example Delikli Bair, opposite the isthmus, and the Kara Dagh range, to a considerable altitude.

The plain of Manyas is conspicuously devoid of scenic attractions; the lake is muddy, and the hills never approach it near enough to diversify the skylines: its shores are dull and flat and the rolling down-country which surrounds it, though fertile enough where cultivated, is treeless except on the southern side. This southern shore is frequently flooded and affords rank pasture and water-meadows for the herds of buffalo which graze it. Behind it rise the moderate heights of the Souaryah Dagh (behind Manyas) while to the south-east are visible the three peaks of Tchatal[2]—too far off however to be a conspicuous feature—and to the east on clear days a gleam of misty white marks the distant snows of the Mysian Olympus.

The Kara-déré river has been identified with Strabo's Tarsius[3].

(Tomaschek, 93) and by Niger to Granicus, has crept in from the variously misspelt and misplaced Lartacho (=Artaki) of the *Portolani*. Aesepus is very variously named by travellers, Boclew by Chishull (59), Outsvola Su by Lechevalier (I. 23), Sataldéré and Dermen by Texier (164). Discussion is unprofitable, since the frequent variation may be due not only to incorrect maps and identifications, but to the practice of naming rivers after villages, each community giving its name to that part of the river with which it is acquainted.

[1] See below, p. 48.

[2] The ancient name of this striking mountain is unknown: τὸ τοῦ Τριχάλικος ὄρος is mentioned in the Life of Joannicius (*Synax. Eccl. Cp.* Nov. 4), the scene of which seems to be the Brusa district, and the name is distinctly appropriate.

[3] The name is apparently of Thracian origin. The name *Tarsas* occurs in Thracian inscriptions: Dumont, 446 (110 b. 17), 447 (110 b. 21), and Tarsia, Tarsiatae in Porphyrogenitus' account of Bithynia (pp. 15, 27 B.).

Chishull[1] and apparently Kiepert[2] (though he does not print it on his map) have heard it called Tarza or Tarssa Su, which sounds like a survival of the ancient name. Beyond this there is little positive evidence for the identification. Against this generally accepted view must however be weighed the following considerations: (*a*) Strabo[3] speaks of the Tarsius, a river remarkable for "twenty fords in the same road, like the Heptaporus of the poet," as about Zeleia, which the Kara-déré is certainly not: (*b*) and the same author, quoting Demetrius, the local authority, says that (Homer's) Heptaporus is "the river they also call Polyporus, for it is crossed by the road as you go from the villages about the Fair Pine to the village of Melaenae and the Asclepieum founded by Lysimachus[4]." This seems to identify Heptaporus, Polyporus and Tarsius. The Fair Pine can be roughly located near the headwaters of the Scamander, Aesepus and Granicus—nowhere near the Kara-déré. Now the road followed by Tchihatcheff from Bigha up the Khodja Bashi crossed the latter many times, from which circumstance the river is called "Kirk getchid" ("forty fords"). This route curiously enough passed a village called Μαῦρες[5] which at least in name corresponds with the old Μέλαιναι. There is at any rate some justification for the assumption that the Kodja Bashi = Heptaporus-Polyporus, whether or not Strabo rightly identified Heptaporus with Tarsius.

Barenus, Empelus, Angelocomites.

A curious geographical digression in Anna Comnena[6] to explain the local name Barenus informs us that from a mountain Ibis (Strabo's Cotylus) flowed the rivers Scamander (inserted perhaps for its Homeric interest), Barenus[7] (connected with Baris which seems to have stood on the Aesepus[8]), Empelus and Angelocomites.

[1] p. 58. [2] *Mem. Karte Kleinas.*, p. 56.

[3] p. 587 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ζελείας ὁ Τάρσιός ἐστι ποταμὸς εἴκοσι ἔχων διαβάσεις τῇ αὐτῇ ὁδῷ. Pliny mentions Heptaporos (v. 23) but not Tarsios.

[4] p. 603. [5] *Fem. plur.* from μαῦρος = black.

[6] XIV. 5.

[7] The identification in the *Notitia* of Barenus with an unknown Monolycus (see Ramsay, *Geog.* 437) is rightly explained by Tomaschek, p. 18, as a misapprehension of this same passage in Anna Comnena.

[8] See p. 108 below, but the identification is by no means certain.

Now we have record of a cult of a river Enbeilus (an earlier spelling of the name) in a votive inscription found at Panderma[1], and the occurrence of an exactly parallel inscription at Alexa on the lower Kara-déré[2] enables us to finally identify Enbeilus-Empelus with the latter river. If Barenus is Aesepus, which is probable, and Empelus is the Kara-déré, which is certain, it is logical to suppose that Angelocomites is represented by Granicus. But I more than suspect that it was really identical with Empelus, on the banks of which stood the *Civitas Archangelos*[3].

Macestus.

The great river flowing from the Lake of Simav and draining by its tributaries all the country around and above the lakes is variously named at different points of its long course, Simav Chai, Susurlu Chai, Mihallitch Chai. It is obviously to be identified with Strabo's[4] Mecestus, Pliny's Macestus[5], and the Megistus of Demetrius of Scepsis[6]. The name is probably non-Greek[7], which would account for the variation: and the form Megistus is perhaps a popular etymology.

Its upper waters run almost due west, but above Bigaditch it takes a sharp turn to the north which is its general direction henceforward. Above Kebsud it receives from the west the streams of the Balukiser plain, in particular the Uzunja-déré (possibly the mediaeval 'Ονοπνικτὴς[8]), and makes a short bend eastwards. After this it continues to flow almost due north down a narrow valley which opens to the plains below Susurlu: then, bending north-east, and receiving near Mihallitch the Kara-déré from the west, and the Ulubad Chai and Nilufer Chai from the east, it flows again through a comparatively narrow valley into the sea opposite the island of Kalolimno[9].

[1] Inscr. IV. 77.

[2] Inscr. IV. 78. The name also occurs as a man's name in Inscr. V. 85. Aesepus, like Enbeilus, was honoured with a cult (Aristid. 503 Dind.) and is the name of a Cyzicene in Inscr. I. 1. [3] See p. 121. [4] 576. [5] *N.H.* V. 42.

[6] Ap. Schol. Ap. Rh. I. 1165 where it is identified with Rhyndacus. Cf. also Polyb. V. 77, § 7. It is called *Μέγας Ποταμὸς* in Theoph. II. 7 (de Boor).

[7] Cf. *Μεκαστηνὸς* a local epithet of Apollo (Inscr. IV. 51), Macestis, a name in Le Bas 1127. [8] See below, p. 133.

[9] The words of Valerius Flaccus (III. 35) "Teque etiam medio flaventem, Rhyndace, ponto" are said by Tchihatcheff in his account of the river (I. 200 ff.) to be literally true: "Vers son embouchure...il devient tellement limoneux que ses ondes jaunissantes forment dans la mer une large bande colorée." So also says Covel.

During the early days of the Sultan-Chair boracite mine the river was utilized for steam transport[1], and there is again talk of making it navigable up to Kebsud.

Rhyndacus.

As the western plain is drained by the Kara-déré and the lake of Manyas, so is the eastern by the Edrenos river and the lake of Aboulliond. The plain is smaller, since the hills approach close up to the southern shore of the lake, and on the north it is divided from the sea by two ranges of hills between which flows the Nilufer river: the lake gains in picturesqueness from the proximity of the hills, and from the wooded islets with which its surface is studded. The Edrenos Chai, called also at its exit from the lake Ulubad Chai, is to be identified with the Rhyndacus[2], which the ancients curiously considered the main stream rather than the Macestus. Pliny[3] and Strabo[4] both speak of its "receiving" the Macestus as a tributary, whereas, compared with the latter, its course is short and its valley unimportant: its upper waters (Edrenos Chai) pass in a narrow bed through sparsely-populated mountain country communicating with no important pass, while the lower river (Ulubad Chai) issuing from the western end of the lake of Aboulliond by Ulubad flows after a few miles between ideally dull banks into the main valley of the Macestus. The river is navigable up to the lake, which is fished by the inhabitants of Apollonia.

Pliny[5] mentions *Lycus* as an ancient name of the Rhyndacus; Anna Comnena[6] speaks of a ποταμὸς περὶ Λοπάδιον called Lampes. Niger[7] calls it *Lartachus* which is explained by the juxtaposition of the river and Artaki on the early maps. Other authorities of this date[8] give Lopadium (Ulubad Chai) as the name of the river.

Odryses.

The Nilufer Chai, flowing due west, parallel with the coast and the road from Cius to Lopadium, is again comparatively unimportant. It is not navigable, and its valley has never served as a highway for more than its

[1] Cuinet, p. 69.

[2] The name may be of Persian origin. A bird called by the Persians Rhyndaccé is mentioned in Photius, p. 44, Bekker.

[3] 576. [4] *N.H.* v. 42. [5] *Ib.* [6] VI. 12. [7] p. 418.

[8] Cf. Ortelius, s.v. Rhyndacus, and authorities there quoted.

own villages. It has been identified on the strength of Hecataeus' description[1] with the Odryses (perhaps the *Horisius* of Pliny)[2] which flows through the Mygdonian plain into the Rhyndacus, passing out of the lake of Dascylium at its western end, but the identification is at least uncertain[3]. The course of the river has been explored by Dr Ruge[4]. Its modern appellation, Nilufer, is said to have been the name of the daughter or wife of Orkhan, who built a stone bridge over it[5].

The Lakes.

In our description of the rivers of the Cyzicene we have had occasion to mention the lakes now called after Manyas and Aboulliond. The question of their ancient names has been discussed by Texier[6] and Perrot[7] but no final conclusion has been reached, owing to the discrepancies between our various authorities. Chief among these is Strabo whose testimony is so explicit as to seem unmistakeable, though in reality, probably, based on no personal knowledge of the country.

(*a*) Strabo[8] mentions *three* lakes, each of which was given its name by an adjacent town, thus:

1. Dascylitis near which was Dascylium.
2. Miletopolitis „ „ Miletupolis.
3. Apolloniatis „ „ Apollonia called ad Rhyndacum.

These are mentioned between Olympus and Cyzicus; the two latter lakes are said to "lie above" (*ὑπερκεῖσθαι*) Dascylitis. Miletopolitis and Apolloniatis are elsewhere expressly mentioned apart, the latter being apparently the further from Cyzicus[9]. In another passage a lake Aphnitis, near Zeleia, is mentioned, which is identified with Dascylitis[10].

[1] Ap. Strab. 550. Cf. Pliny's *Horisius*.

[2] The name is undoubtedly of Thracian origin. Cf. Hdt. IV. 92, etc.

[3] See below on the Mysian lakes. Tomaschek identifies it with Soloeis (Plutarch, *Themist.* 26), of which, he suggests, Pliny's *Gelbes* is a corruption.

[4] *Petermann's Mitth.* 1892, 224.

[5] Hadji Khalfa II. 482. Evliya Effendi trans. Von Hammer II. 25. The former confuses it with the Edrenos Chai. Nilufer is said to be Turkish for *Nymphaea Alba*.

[6] *Asie Mineure* II. 163.

[7] I. 91.

[8] p. 575.

[9] p. 576 *νέμονται* (sc. *οἱ Κυζικηνοί*) *πολλὴν μέχρι τῆς Μιλητοπολίτιδος λίμνης καὶ τῆς Ἀπολλωνιάτιδος αὐτῆς*.

[10] p. 587 *Τούτους* sc. (*Ζελειτὰς*)...*Ἀφνειοὺς* (*ἐκάλει*) *ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφνίτιδος νομίζουσι λίμνης, καὶ γὰρ οὕτω καλεῖται ἡ Δασκυλῖτις*.

(*b*) Pliny[1] places a lake Artynia near Miletupolis, certainly the lake of Aboulliond since the Rhyndacus is said to flow through it.

(*c*) Plutarch[2] speaks of Lucullus bringing a great boat overland[3] to Cyzicus from Dascylitis during the Mithradatic siege. No lake but that of Manyas was on Lucullus' way from Phrygia, so that this must be regarded as confirmation of Strabo's identification of Aphnitis and Dascylitis.

(*d*) Stephanus[4] identifies Aphnitis and Artynia.

From Strabo, apart from his general statement which affords no clue, we gather that

Aphnitis = Dascylitis = L. of Manyas.

From Pliny that Artynia = L. of Aboulliond.

From Plutarch that Dascylitis = L. of Manyas.

[From Stephanus that Artynia = Aphnitis.]

Hitherto the usual explanation of the problem raised by these discrepant statements is that:

(1) Lake of Aboulliond = (*a*) Artynia = (*b*) Apolloniatis.

(2) Lake of Manyas = (*a*) Aphnitis = (*b*) Miletopolitis.

Artynia and Aphnitis are presumably names existent before the foundation of Apollonia and Miletopolis.

(3) Unknown lake on the Nilufer = Dascylitis.

With (1) no quarrel is possible, the statement of Pliny being sufficiently explicit as to (*a*)[5] and the known site of Apollonia[6] with the modern name of the lake attesting the truth of (*b*).

In (2), the equation (*a*) may be regarded as proved by the

[1] v. 40 (142) [Rhyndacus] oritur in stagna Artynia juxta Miletopolim.

[2] *Vita Luculli* 9.

[3] It is to-day the practice of the Cossack fishermen of Lake Manyas to cart their boats overland to the sea at Panderma on trolleys built for the purpose, rather than to navigate the Kara-déré to the Macestus, when the Black Sea fishing season commences.

[4] s.v. Ἄφνειον· ἡ λίμνη ἡ περὶ Κυζίκου Ἀφνῖτις ἡ πρότερον Ἀρτυνία. Δασκυλῖτις λίμνη is mentioned incidentally, s.v. Δασκυλεῖον.

[5] Stephanus' statement that Artynia = Aphnitis is perhaps based on (1) Pliny's mention of Artynia as *juxta Miletopolim*, and (2) vagueness as to the position of Miletupolis which has in our own day been sought in the Manyas plain. Stephanus, professedly a compiler, is very vague as to relative positions of places in the Cyzicene.

[6] Suidas' statement, s.v. Ἀπολλωνίατις λίμνη, that the lake was named after Apollonis is obviously due to confusion with the town of that name near Pergamum.

association based on Homer[1] of Zeleia with Aphnitis: (*b*) is more doubtful now that we know certainly that Miletopolis was not only much nearer the lake of Aboulliond but on the Aboulliond side of the Macestus. Its proximity to the lake of Aboulliond even suggests that Strabo was misled by a desire of parallelism and that there were in reality only two lakes, i.e. that Apolloniatis bore also the name Miletopolitis[2]. This solution would be particularly welcome in view of the fact that one of the chief difficulties of the lake question is that there are only two existent lakes as far as can be ascertained. This leaves only one interpretation for (3), viz. that Dascylitis is Manyas.

(3) The position of the vanished lake on the Nilufer[3] rests on the assumption that Nilufer = Odryses (for which there is no direct evidence); Hecataeus distinctly says that lake Dascylitis was traversed by the Odryses, but equally distinctly that the Odryses flowed *from the west* into the Rhyndacus[4]. The position of Dascylium (though a Dascylium undoubtedly stood on the coast near the vanished lake) is very doubtful, and a certain amount of positive evidence may be gleaned from Strabo's statement that Aphnitis = Dascylitis and Plutarch's apparently independent implication that Dascylitis was lake Manyas.

I therefore regard as tenable, pending further evidence, the theory that:

Lake Aboulliond = Artynia = Apolloniatis and Miletopolitis.

Lake Manyas = Aphnitis = Dascylitis[5].

[1] *Il.* II. 824 Οἱ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναιον...Ἀφνειοί, πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσήποιο.

[2] The lake of Apollonia, generally called ἡ τῆς Ἀπολλωνιάδος λίμνη by the Byzantines, is called after Lopadium in Chalcondyles, p. 225 B. It is generally Aboulliond Gueul in Turkish, but Hadji Khalfa II. 477, 479, 481 names it after Ulubad.

[3] For a possible site see Ruge's paper in *Petermann's Mitth.* 38. 224.

[4] Ap. Str. 551 ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλαζίᾳ πόλι ποταμὸς Ὀδρύσης ῥέων διὰ Μυγδονίης πεδίου ἀπὸ δύσιος ἐκ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος ἐς Ῥύνδακον ἐσβάλλει (Dolionis and Mygdonis are associated in Str. 576).

[5] An alternative position for Dascylitis may be suggested north of Brusa, where are traces of a lake on a tributary of the Nilufer.

CHAPTER V.

COAST SITES—AIDINJIK TO TRIGLIA.

FRONTING the isthmus of Cyzicus rise the rather barren slopes of Delikli Bair, which is certainly the Mons Adrasteia (named after a temple of that goddess[1]) where Lucullus took up his position behind Mithradates[2], so as to intercept all supplies coming to the besieging army from the landward side. The single narrow approach to the position spoken of by Appian[3] is possibly to be found in the bed of a stream flowing from the neighbourhood of Aidinjik to the lake.

Adrasteia Mons.

Slightly west of the isthmus, in a saddle of the coast hills, which are here beautifully wooded, lies Aidinjik, a large village, with a mixed population of Turks, Tartars, Armenians and Greeks; the latter have a church of S. George. Aidinjik was formerly a place of some importance, and the seat of a local governor[4]. The name is said to mean "Little Moonlight," in allusion to the moonlight adventure of Suleiman Pasha[5]; but the place is mentioned by Seaddin[6] before the conquest of Karassi. Aidinjik is full of ancient remains plundered from the ruins and contains a picturesque mosque raised on wooden pillars, each supported by a reversed Corinthian capital.

Aidinjik.

[1] Str. 588. Kiepert's *Formae Orbis* IX. identifies Adrasteia with Lobrinion.

[2] Plut. *Lucull.* 9. [3] *De Bell. Mith.* 72.

[4] The Greeks in Sestini's time called it Passa-li. It remains a mudirate.

[5] A second etymology derives it from an Emir Aidin, one of whose comrades built the village from the ruins of Cyzicus, Cuinet IV. 294.

[6] Bratutti, I. 51.

Poketos.

It is near Aidinjik that we must locate the Poketos of the Philetaerus legend[1]. Philetaerus was on his way under escort from Nicaea to his place of banishment in Proconnesus, and was apparently to take ship at Cyzicus: his route is given in some detail from the crossing of the Rhyndacus to Poketos where he died. According to the *Vita*, when the party was already near the *βουνά*[2], a term elsewhere applied to the Kapu Dagh, the saint persuaded his escort to diverge by a cross-road to Poketos, whence Cyzicus could be gained with little loss of time. At Poketos there was a small Christian community owing its foundation to S. Paul[3]. Ramsay in *St Paul the Traveller*[4] identifies a sanctuary of Artemis, mentioned in the *Vita* as near Poketos, with the Artemea of Hierocles and with the *thermae* of Artemis at Gunen. This identification he uses to substantiate his argument that S. Paul passed Gunen on his way to Alexandria Troas; but the extreme frequency of Artemis cults in the neighbourhood as evidenced by monuments and by the *Vita* itself makes the theory very doubtful, and the route to Cyzicus by Gunen involves a considerable circuit. Further the *Vita* refers to the lofty position of Poketos[5], which does not suit Gunen, while the reference to the sacred grove of cypresses[6] is quite in harmony with their luxuriant growth to-day in the cemeteries which surround Aidinjik.

The rest of the details of the journey from the Rhyndacus fit well. Serou kome would be somewhere on the Macestus ("the river" is mentioned), the river Koaste the Kara Su, the Stribos the stream flowing from behind Aidinjik to the latter river, and the village of Cleodes perhaps about Debleki, which is

[1] *Acta SS.* May 19, ch. iii. For the name cf. Pecetum, a vicus of Philippopolis (Dumont 117 q), and Πυκάτην near Parium, Str. 588.

[2] Par. 26. The *βουνὰ τῆς Κυζίκου* are shewn by Acrop. xxiii. to be the hills of the Kapu Dagh, since we know the position of Κεραμιδᾶς (see p. 19).

[3] The *Vita Eubioti* in *Synax. Cp.* (Dec. 18) mentions at Poketos *ἡ ἐκκλησία ἣν ἐνεκαίνισαν Παῦλος καὶ Σίλας οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀνερχόμενοι ἐπὶ Τρωάδα.*

[4] p. 138.

[5] My old fellow-traveller, Mr Henderson, tells me he found an old Turkish cemetery with Byzantine and other remains "on a plateau near the top" of the Adrasteia.

[6] § 28.

an ancient site[1] identified conjecturally with Scyrmus[2] by Kiepert.

Thracia. Come.

Just east of the isthmus (in the neighbourhood of the modern Mahmun-Keui) must have stood the "Thracian village[3]," where Lucullus pitched his camp during the siege of Cyzicus[4]. This would be the only point where the camp would be in full view of the besieged, and I am now told that Mahmun-Keui was the provenance of the stele bearing the name of the village.

Panormus.

The town of Panormus (Panderma) is not mentioned before the thirteenth century: the name, indeed, is given by the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*[5] to the harbour of Cyzicus, but his description of it as a harbour with two entrances hardly fits the open roadstead east of the isthmus. It is possible[6] that the name, which is a common one all over the Greek world, represents a Greek colony absorbed like Artaki by the growing power of Cyzicus—like Artaki, it has gained its prosperity at Cyzicus' expense.

Villehardouin is the first to mention[7] "un chasteau qu'on appelle Palorme" which the Crusaders fortified in 1204 as the base of their incursions upon the territory of Lascaris. This seems, however, the only part the town has played in history. Ruins are non-existent if we except some scanty traces of an insignificant church on the shore at the western extremity of the town.

To-day Panderma is the most flourishing port of the district and the seat of a Kaimakam; it communicates with Constantinople by sea, and by tolerable roads with Balukiser and Brusa.

[1] *Ath. Mitth.* x. 200 (29).

[2] Steph. Byz. (s.v. Σκυρμός, πόλις ἐν τῇ Δολιονίᾳ) is the only author who mentions it.

[3] Inscr. IV. 23.

[4] Plut. *Lucull.* 9.

[5] s.v. Πάνορμος. Munro identifies it with the eastern port, on the strength of the modern name. An island Panormus (?Monastir in Panderma Bay) is mentioned by Theophan. I. 773.

[6] Panderma, like all the places in the vicinity of Cyzicus, is full of old marbles, but these are brought from places so far distant as Manyas and are no warrant for a Greek settlement.

[7] Ducange 170. Cf. the name Γεώργιος Πανορμηνὸς in *Act. Patr. Const.* II. 26 (1381).

The town possesses five mosques, the largest, that of Haidar Tchaoush, a pleasing building on the quay, and five Greek churches, the chief being those of the Virgin and S. George: the monastery of the Trinity is picturesquely situated on the shore and boasts a sacred well of repute. The streets are wide, and in some cases well paved, and the quays modern and extensive. A stone pier has been commenced. Among the exports are the maize of the Mysian plains and the boracite of Susurlu: large numbers of lambs are also shipped to Constantinople in the season. The population is Greek, Turkish and Armenian, the latter element being specially important[1]. De Stochove writing in 1650 talks of it as entirely inhabited by Armenians[2], and the settlement may, like those in the Troad[3], be as early as the Crusaders, and have influenced their choice of Panderma as their head quarters. Gerlach, however, lays stress on the Greek population. Panderma figures as a port on the early maps, and offered obvious advantages to the Italian traders of the middle ages. Villehardouin's and Gerlach's use of the Italian form of the name (Palorme, Palormus) points to an important settlement of Franks, as does du Chastel's mention of a Latin chapel so late as the 17th century.

Placia and Scylace.

Placia and Scylace[4] lay on the coast between Cyzicus and the Rhyndacus' mouth. They were reputed colonies of the Pelasgians, and in Herodotus' day still spoke a non-Greek dialect[5]. It is, however, curious that both names are quite Greek in sound. Both seem derived from natural features, Placia from a flat-topped acropolis, Scylace from

[1] Cuinet's figures are 7,000 M., 1515 G., 1516 A., Fitzner's practically identical. The former's account of modern conditions is especially interesting.

[2] p. 183. It is worthy of remark that Panderma is the only place in the district where Armenians speak their native tongue, but local tradition holds the Armenians of Panderma for descendants of gypsies who had adopted the Armenian religion and language.

[3] Acrop. Villeh., § 161 "li Hemin de la terre dont il y en avoit moult commincierent à tourner de vers lui qui haioent moult les Grex." Cf. Ansbert 36 (Armenians in Thrace).

[4] Steph. Byz. s.v. Πλάκη. Plagaea et Scydace, P. Mela I. 31, followed by Plin. V. 40.

[5] I. 57.

some fantastic rock form like the modern Dévé Burnu ("Camel Cape") near Yenije. The "Scylaceion" of Valerius Flaccus[1] seems to refer to a headland, possibly this one.

The two towns have no recorded history, but Placia has left autonomous coins dating from about 300 B.C.[2], which fact points to its having been the more important of the two. Scylax[3], too, mentions Placia but not Scylace. Placia was famous as the seat of the Mêtêr Placiané[4] whose worship was important enough to be transferred to Cyzicus, probably when Placia was absorbed by her powerful neighbour, just as the Proconnesian goddess was removed from Marmara.

Considering their small importance Placia and Scylace are placed accurately enough by Mela. The site of the Placiané shrine may be indicated by that of the mediaeval and modern religious centre of the Kara Dagh—the monastery of the Virgin at Kurshunlu, called indifferently Panagia Kara Dagh and τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἄγρου.

I found at Kurshunlu not only a Byzantine church with remains of a once magnificent marble tessellated pavement, a massive precinct wall on the seaward side and a ruined gateway of some pretensions[5], but many ancient remains; these included several large fragments of marble lions, which suggest that the monastery occupied the site of the temple of Placiané. At the same time I should hesitate to place Placia at Kurshunlu, which, lying under the highest point of the Kara Dagh range[6], does not possess land enough for its own support, but lives by the export of charcoal to Constantinople. It is much more probable that Placia was at Yenije, where the mountains fall away towards the lower ground about Panderma, and that its territory embraced the mountain country and the shrine of the mountain goddess. If the Panagia is indeed the successor of

[1] *Arg.* III. 36, Spumosumque legunt fracta Scylaceion unda.

[2] Head, *Hist. Num.* 465. Cf. *N.C.* VI. 188, B.M. Cat. (Mysia): the usual types are *obv.* head of Mêtêr Placiane, *rev.* lion tearing prey.

[3] § 94. [4] Inscr. I. 8, 9.

[5] Cf. *Rev. Arch.* N. S. XXXVII. 202, where Carabella mentions remains of a temple of Neptune beneath ruins of a monastery, with numerous architectural fragments.

[6] This must surely be what Mela means by the Mysian Olympus "imminens a tergo." His mistake is copied by Pliny.

Cybele, we find a curious repetition of history in the legend that the great picture now preserved at the monastery of the Phaneroméné in Kapu Dagh was stolen from the monastery of Kurshunlu, to the great prejudice of the latter, which is now in ruins, while the picture brings a large revenue to its rival.

The monastery of Kurshunlu was known to the Byzantines as Μονὴ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἄγρου[1] or τῆς Σιγριανῆς, the latter name (Σιγριανὴ)[2] being applied to the mountainous region of the Kara Dagh. The monastery was founded by Theophanes in the 9th century and figures largely in various *Vitae Theophanis*[3]: according to one account the saint was buried here[4]. The decay of the monastery is as usual attributed to "the Pope" (i.e. the crusaders), but it is mentioned evidently as a house of some importance under Andronicus Palaeologus, when it was temporarily given over to the bishopric of Alexandria[5].

Besbicus.

Opposite the mouth of the Rhyndacus[6] lies the long rocky island of Besbicus, rising at each end to a considerable elevation and forming a conspicuous object on the skyline when Panderma Bay is cleared. Its peculiarities made it the subject of various legends which attempted to account for it by supernatural means. All of these connected it with the giants. Stephanus quotes one myth which represented it as a loose rock with which the giants attempted to block the mouth of the Rhyndacus: their attempt was frustrated by Persephone, who fixed the island fast and gave it the name of a giant. The introduction of Persephone and the obvious debt to the story of the blocking of Chytus stamp this version as of comparatively late origin.

The original legend, of a simple form common in volcanic

[1] G. Pachy. III. 5=II. 203 B. Conc. Nic. II. ἡγούμενος Μονάγρου.

[2] The name is also found west of Cyzicus (Σιγρηνὴ Acrop. xxviii.) and in Lesbos (Σίγριον, Steph. Byz.). It seems to be connected with σιγρὴς (?) a species of wild boar (*Etym. Mag.* s.v. σιγραί).

[3] Theophanes, ed. de Boor, vol. II.; another life is given in M. J. Gedeon's Βυζ. Ἑορτολόγιον. Cf. also Const. Porph. 25 B., Zonaras III. 325.

[4] Cf. however B. A. Μυστακίδης in Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια XIV. 1894, 243 ff. (Ὁ τάφος τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοφάνους τῆς Σιγριανῆς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ), and the *Synax. Eccl. Cp.* Mar. 12.

[5] G. Pachy. II. 203 B.

[6] Ante fauces Rhyndaci (Plin. V. 40).

countries, is related by the scholiast on Apollonius[1], who says that the *μέγα ἤριον Αἰγαιῶνος* marked the place where Aegaeon was overwhelmed (*κατεποντίσθη*) by Poseidon: Aegaeon is considered by the scholiast as identical with Briareus or (according to Demetrius of Scepsis) a Mysian hero. Arrian[2] says that the tomb of Briareus, a hill which was also called after Aegaeon, was shewn by the Rhyndacus: from it flowed a hundred springs which were called the arms of Briareus.

This makes it clear that the "tomb of Aegaeon" is identical with the island Besbicus, a theory antecedently probable from the conspicuous position of the island to ships sailing east from Cyzicus. The name Besbicus (Bysbicus in the tribute lists) was given to the island later from a Pelasgian hero who settled there[3], and with the help of Heracles conquered the rest of the giants[4].

The presumably Pelasgian inhabitants of Besbicus participated in the Delian league, after which history fails us till Theophanes in the middle of the 8th century colonized the island with monks from the mainland: it was then apparently called Calonymus[5], and later authors waver between this and the usual modern appellation Calolimno[6], Calolimiona.

The island was taken in 1308[7] by Kara Ali, whence its Turkish name Emir Ali Adassi. It is said by Buondelmonti to have been entirely uninhabited in his time (1420), but in the 17th century Luke and Covel speak of it as fairly prosperous and as having two little towns, Arnaout Keui[8] and Kalolimno. It would thus appear that it was colonized like Marmara by Albanians. Its revenues went to the Shahzadeh Mosque in

[1] 1. 1165. [2] Frag. 42.

[3] Aegaeon was also said to have come from Pelasgian Euboea. Sch. Ap. Rh. 1. 1165.

[4] Steph. Byz., Sch. Ap. Rh. It is curious to find the island still associated with a giant in the modern folktale of *Παπούμια τοῦ Ἕλληνος* quoted by T. E. Evangelides in his account of Triglia.

[5] Vita Theophanis, cf. Nicetas 475, Buondelmonti, Clavijo.

[6] Uzzano has Calamento, the *Portolani* Calolimene, Calamineo, etc. The *Sailing directions for Marmara* mention the name Papa ("the Pope's Island" in Covel) evidently from the monks.

[7] Von Hammer 1. 180.

[8] This village, called *Βαντῖται* (*Ἀρβαντῖται*) by Evangelides, has disappeared.

Constantinople. Covel enumerates four monasteries on the island dedicated to the Saviour[1], the Virgin, Panteleëmon and S. John the Divine. The island is counted to the vilayet of Brusa and to the bishopric of Nicomedia.

Dascylium.

Some eight miles east of the Rhyndacus' mouth is the roadstead of Eskil-liman, protected on the east by the bold headland formerly called Dascylium[2]. Remains of an ancient town on this headland are said to exist, and from it juts out a mole of massive unhewn limestone blocks, roughly heaped together to form a tiny port. The modern village, a small place inhabited by Turks, is half an hour inland, but its inhabitants till the fertile slopes which stretch between the village and the sea. Eskil is on the road from Mudania to Mihallitch, the corresponding Greek village of Yali-chiftlik lying on higher ground to the south-east.

The roadstead of Eskil-liman is still known by the Greeks as Δασκέλι, and the existence of the place can be traced into classical times. Meletius mentions it as Δασκέλι, the *Portolani* as Diasquilo, Diaschilo, Dascoli[3], and Boucicaut as "un gros villaige qui sied sur le goulphe de Nicomedie bien deux lieues loing de la marine," where he found "moult de beaux manoirs et un riche Palais qui estoit à Bajazet[4]." Dascylium was the seat of a Bithynian bishopric[5], and we have cited the Byzantine allusions to the harbour: Stephanus[6] mentions a μικρὸν πολισμάτιον Δασκύλιον in the territory of Bryllion (Triglia?), and Mela "Dascylos in ora[7]" among the coast towns of Bithynia. Further, a town Dascylion paid a small contribution to the Delian league.

[1] Μεταμόρφωσις Σωτῆρος: this is the monastery founded by Theophanes.

[2] Both bay (Niceph. Greg. III. 559) and headland (Const. Porph. 25) were so called.

[3] Tomaschek, p. 11.

[4] Buchon, § 249, ch. xxx. 11. Cf. J. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV. siècle*, p. 370. The distance from the sea is an over-statement, unless we suppose that Yali-chiftlik is meant. According to some local informants it was originally an imperial estate settled by Greeks deported after Orloff's expedition: the last is very questionable.

[5] Lequien 629. To his list must be added a bishop John, whose seal, with device of S. Thomas, is figured in Schlumberger's *Sigillographie* 732.

[6] s.v. Βρύλλιον (quoted below, p. 56).

[7] I. 99. Cf. Plin. v. 40 (143). Ptol. v. 14?

All these allusions can be definitely associated with Eskil-liman, but it is very far from certain whether the latter represents the seat of the Hellespontine satraps[1] as is usually held. There were a number of places called Dascylium, and it will be necessary to collect the meagre records of them in order to gain a clear idea of the evidence for and against Eskil-liman.

The name was of Lydian origin, Dascylus being the father of Gyges[2]. Stephanus enumerates the following five towns called Dascylium:

1. πόλις Καρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἀπὸ Δασκύλου τοῦ Περιαύδου (cf. Paus. IV. 35 Δασκύλου κώμη).
2. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις μετὰ τὰ Τρῳκὰ κτισθεῖσα.
3. τῆς Ἰωνίας τὸ μέγα λεγόμενον.
4. περὶ Βιθυνίαν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ λίμνη Δασκυλῖτις.
5. τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ Φρυγίας.

The Bithynian Dascylium can alone concern us: Stephanus, who perhaps used Strabo as his source, is here very vague as to its position, but mentions it further:

(1) s.v. Βρύλλιον· πόλις ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι. Ἔφορος Κῖον αὐτὴν φησιν εἶναι. Βρυλλὶς ἡ χώρα ἐν ᾗ Δασκυλεῖόν ἐστιν, μικρὸν πολισμάτιον.

This reference is probably to the obscure coast town represented by Eskil-liman, though the identification of Bryllion with Cius by Ephorus is worthy of note. The following tend to connect Dascylion with the region of Nicaea:

(2) s.v. Ἀντιγονεία Βιθυνίας (= Nicaea) πρὸς τῷ Δασκυλίῳ.

(3) s.v. Ἀσκανία· πόλις Τρῳκή. Νικόλαος τετάρτῃ ἱστορίᾳ. Σκαμάνδρος Ἕκτορος καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης ἐκ τῆς Ἴδης καὶ τοῦ Δασκυλείου καὶ τῆς Ἀσκανίας καλουμένης ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ Αἰνείου παῖς Ἀσκάνιος. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἡ λίμνη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ χώρα δισσὴ καὶ ὁμώνυμος. Φρυγίας μὲν "Φόρκυς αὖ Φρύγας ἦγε καὶ Ἀσκάνιος θεοειδὴς Οἳ δ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης ἐριβώλακος ἦλθον ἀμοιβοί," τῆς δὲ Μυσίας etc.

[1] Cf. Hdt. III. 120 ὁ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ νόμος, *ibid.* 126; VI. 33. Thuc. I. 129 ἡ Δασκυλῖτις σατραπεία. Dion. Hal. I. 47. 5.

[2] Hdt. I. 6. Paus. IV. 21. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* VII. 709.

With these are to be compared:

Dion. Hal. I. 47. 5 *εἰς τὴν Δασκυλῖτιν καλουμένην γῆν, ἔνθα ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀσκανία λίμνη*[1].

The contrast is great between a town which gives its name to the surrounding region, and one which is itself included in so obscure a canton as Bryllis.

We turn now to the well-known description of the palace of Pharnabazus by Xenophon[2]. We may say at the outset that it is almost impossible to conceive of this place as on the sea: the Greeks had evidently no idea of the position of Pharnabazus' palace, and there is no mention even of proximity to the coast. On general grounds, too, the Persians, like the Turks, did not select maritime centres of government. Xenophon was chiefly impressed by the luxuriant fertility of the place, its river full of fish and its woods of game, its rich villages, and its royal parks and chases.

Our only clue to the position of the Dascylium of the Hellespontine satraps is the fact that Alexander, turning south after Granicus, despatched Parmenio, presumably east, to Dascylium.

Two theories have been put forward:

(1) That Eskil represents the satraps' capital.

(2) That Dascylium was in the plain of Manyas.

(1) I regard as the solution of the desperate, Eskil being at least a fixed point. It certainly cannot be the well wooded and watered district which roused Xenophon's enthusiasm[3], and its position on the sea is very much against it.

(2) is backed by Plutarch's[4] very obvious identification of the

[1] Compare also Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 5. 9. 5 where Lycus, son of *Dascylus*, king of Mysia, is attacked by the *Bebryces*. Another vague mythological reference which gives us no help is Nic. Damasc. frag. 63 where Miletus flees from Sadyattes to Dascylium and thence to Proconnesus.

[2] *Hell.* IV. 1. 15 sqq. (*Δασκυλεῖον*) *ἔνθα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν Φαρναβάζῳ καὶ κῶμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ θῆραι, αἱ μὲν ἐν περιειργμένοις παραδείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις, πάγκαλαι, περιέρρει δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς παντοδαπῶν ἰχθύων πλήρης· ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἄφθονα τοῖς ὀρνιθεύσαι δυναμένοις.*

[3] *Ausland* 1855, p. 556, "In Yali Tchiftlik," says Mordtmann, "und in Iskele (Eskil) sah ich weit und breit kein Baum ausgenommen die gekappten zwerghaften Maulbeerbäume": there is no river and no woods.

[4] *Vita Luculli* 9. Cf. also Hecataeus (ap. Str. 551) *Ὀδρύσης ῥέων διὰ Μυγδονίης πεδίου ἀπὸ δύσιος ἐκ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος ἐς Ῥύνδακον ἐσβάλλει.* For a relief of a hunter in Persian costume found in the Karadere valley, see *J. H. S.* XXVI., pl. VI. Stephanus, s.v. *Ἀσκανία* (quoted above), again connects Dascylium, Ascania, and *Ida*.

lake of Manyas and Dascylitis. The site, if in this direction at all, must be sought on the south of the lake where there is pleasant rolling country with wooded hills behind, and a beautiful river valley (the Kara-déré). The rest of the plain is far from harmonising with Xenophon's enthusiastic description.

(3) A third theory is suggested by the passages which connect Dascylium with the Nicaea district: it is at least possible that Dascylium occupied the approximate site of the modern provincial capital, Brusa, whose environs, more than any other region for miles, deserve the eulogies of Xenophon. Nothing moreover is known of this district previous to the foundation of Prusa by the Bithynian kings. The identification has the additional advantage of providing a possible λίμνη Δασκυλῖτις in the remnant of a lake traversed by the Nilufer just east of Brusa.

Triglia.

Seven miles east of the promontory of Dascylium lies the village of Triglia[1]. It is a large place[2], inhabited almost entirely by Greeks, and situated in a niche of the coast hills two hours west of Mudania. It is backed by a fertile valley planted with vines[3], olive, and mulberry trees. There is no port, but steamers occasionally call on their way to Mudania: the new *chaussée* from Mudania to Mihallitch turns inland after passing through the village.

Triglia is mainly remarkable for the number of its monastic foundations dating from the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.[4] Most of these are decayed and none are tenanted by more than one monk. Some of them however preserve some relics of their

[1] Tomaschek, p. 13, says "Gewiss bestand schon in antiker Zeit an dieser Stelle eine nach der Seebarbe benannte Station, mit einem Heiligthum der Hekate." The name may be derived, as he suggests, from τρίγλη, a mullet: the fish was, according to Athenaeus (VII. 125, cf. *Anth. Pal.* VI. 105), sacred to Hekate, but this is hardly sufficient evidence for a temple of hers in the district. The place is first mentioned in Cantac. I. 220, 225 and in the *Portolani*.

[2] Estimated at 1,000 houses, of which only 25 are Turkish. The Turks of Triglia and Syki are bilingual.

[3] The wine of Triglia is mentioned in the accounts of the Genoese at Pera (1390), *Atti Soc. Ligure* XIII. 153, alum and wine as exports of the place by Pegolotti.

[4] Much of my information on the monasteries of Triglia is derived from Evangelides' account in Σωτὴρ XII. 1889. I have myself visited the churches of Pantobasilissa, S. Stephen, the Holy Fathers and Pelecete at Triglia and S. Michael at Syke.

ancient magnificence. On account of these foundations the village belongs, or belonged, not to the diocese of Brusa but to the patriarchate[1].

The parish church of Pantobasilissa holds its *panegyris* on August 15, and is specially famed for its cures of cripples: patients incubate three days fasting. The church measures about 20·00 × 9·00 m. and consists of a nave and aisles, five columns a side, but the three western bays have been restored since the earthquake of 1855. The columns are of marble and granite, and the caps, though Byzantine, are older than the church, some being ignorantly reversed to form bases. The panel of *opus sectile* pavement mentioned by Covel still remains. The original church was of the cross-in-square type, with three apses and a nave extending two bays west of the dome. The exterior has some fair decorative tile work: the south wall is buttressed by arches spanning the adjacent street. The church is identified by Evangelides with the Μονὴ τῆς Τριγλείας of which S. Stephen ὁ ὁμολογητὴς was ἡγούμενος in the time of Leo Armenus: the building does not seem earlier than the 12th century.

Much more remarkable is the church (now a mosque) called by Evangelides Ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου[2] and identified with the Μονὴ τοῦ Χηνολάκκου. The monastery τοῦ Χηνολάκκου πλησίον Μυρλείας was founded about 720–30 by S. (ὅσιος) Stephen, a monk of Palestine[3]: a second S. (ἅγιος) Stephen (under Leo the Armenian, 813—820) was abbot of Triglia[4]. Evangelides quotes no record to back the identification and the name Χηνο-

[1] Cf. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη III. 587 (sigillion of 1652) Περὶ τῶν χωρίων Τριγλίας καὶ Ἐλεγμῶν ὅτι σταυροπήγιά εἰσι καὶ οὐχὶ ὑποκείμενα τῷ Προύσης: the text is given by Evangelides, p. 283. The bishop of Brusa, however, takes the title of Τριγλίας in 1658 (Evangelides, *loc. cit.*), but the freedom of the monasteries of Pelecete and Medicion is vindicated by later sigillia, Sathas, *op. cit.* 594 (1658), 601 (1675) respectively; that of Pelecete again in a sigillion of 1788 (Ξενοφάνης, I. 333).

[2] Kleonymos has ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου: I was told the dedication was to the Evangelistria.

[3] Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον, Jan. 11; cf. Λίθοι καὶ Κεράμια, p. 27. The monastery τοῦ Χηνολάκκου is also mentioned in the *Vita S. Methodii* (Migne), *Patr. Graec.* c. 1247, and in the *Vita Michaelis Paleologi* (ХРНСТІАНСКОЕ ЧТЕНІЕ, 1885, p. 547). John and Thomas of Χηνόλακκος were present at the second council of Nicaea. Its ἐγκαίνια was the 14 Jan. (Βυζ. Ἑορτολ.).

[4] *Acta SS.* etc. Mar. 26. A ὅσιος Μάρκος Τριγλινὸς is commemorated on Nov. 24.

λάκκου seems inappropriate to the site of the church, which is on a hillside. The present mosque is certainly associated with a S. Stephen, and is the largest, and probably the earliest, church in the neighbourhood: it may therefore be the original Μονὴ τῆς Τριγλίας rather than the Μονὴ τοῦ Χηνολάκκου.

Of the history of the building nothing is known save that it was converted into a mosque in 1661[1] and damaged by the earthquake of 1855. The present mosque is a large and once beautiful church measuring 28·00 or (with the forecourt and colonnade) 36·00 × 14·00 metres: the plan is of the "cross-in-square" type, with three apses (the central rectilinear, the southern destroyed), and a large central dome, resting on four massive marble monolithic columns, and decorated externally with eight simple blind arcades in the circular drum. Triple arcades, which gave access to side chapels (now destroyed), still remain built up in the north and south walls[2]. Two string-courses ran round the building at the levels of the caps of these arcades and of the spring of the major arches. The capitals of the four great columns (which enclose a square of about five metres a side) are all of one type—a cushion-shape with deeply-pierced leaf patterns and elaborate *abaci*; those of the transept arcade are of similar form but less shapely, and adorned with decorative carving in a delicate low relief. The western end of the church is prefaced by a simple narthex, which had originally three doors into the church; two are now blocked. The external doorway is a plain round arch of tile. The narthex opens on to a narrow court, on the further side of which is a colonnade of four (originally five?) columns, one anta being *in situ*, with caps of the same type as the inner four, though less delicately carved.

In the valley, about a quarter of an hour above the village, stands the monastery of the Holy Fathers (τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων) or τοῦ Μηδικίου[3] founded by Nicephorus[4] who became patriarch

[1] A. H. 1039. This is the date read by Evangelides on the *mimber* (Βίοι Ἁγίων, 85: in Σωτὴρ it is given erroneously as 1613).

[2] In the soffit of the southern are remains of mosaic.

[3] Μηδικίου, Ἁγίου Σεργίου τοῦ Μηδικίωνος (Acta Nicetae), τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων. See Sathas, Μεσ. Βιβλ. III. 601 (1674), v. 263 = Mich. Pselli ep. 29, cf. 77. The history of the monastery is discussed by Hergès.

[4] *Acta SS.* May 4. Hergès proposes 780 as a likely date for the foundation.

in 806, and was succeeded by Nicetas[1]: under him the monastery was inhabited by a hundred monks.

The monastery is a large and poor building, burnt in 1770 and again in 1801. It was rebuilt with the court surrounding it at the beginning of the 19th century: over the gate is:—1801 *κατὰ μῆνα Μαΐου ἀνεκενίσθη ἐκ βάθρου | ἡ παροῦσα Μωνὴ τοῦ Μηδικίου.* The church consists of nave and north aisle divided by plain built arcades: the apse retains its semicircular seats, and a south chapel has remains of a tessellated marble (*opus sectile*) pavement. The staff of the monastery, which had 25 monks in 1676[2], is reduced to an abbot, but it still possesses a good deal of land.

A third ancient and decayed foundation is the monastery of S. John the Divine[3] called *τῆς Πελεκητῆς*[4]: it is beautifully situated on the wooded undercliff close down by the shore about two miles west of Triglia. The monastery was founded in 709 A.D., and burnt in 766 under Constantine Copronymus[5] when there were 38 monks. Hegoumeni were:—Theosterictus 766, Hilarion junior (of Cappadocia) 787, Macarius 805—820[6] and Sabbas. The monastery is now badly off and tenanted only by one priest and his family. The church was restored after 1855, but burnt in 1880: it is only interesting for the ancient detail built into it—fragments of a marble pavement, a Byzantine cornice and some old capitals. Covel shews it as a domed church with four columns and triple apse: the central apse had semicircular seats. In his day there were twenty monks, and the monastery was *σταυροπηγιακόν*[7]: it was given in 1880 to the Hiera Schole in Chalce, now removed to Xyloporta. A rock-hewn hermit's cell near the church perhaps explains the name *Πελεκητή*.

[1] *Acta SS.* Apr. 3. Cf. Theod. Studit. 1317 (Migne).

[2] Covel.

[3] Not the Baptist as Kleonymos; cf. Sathas, *Μεσ. Βιβλ.* III. 594.

[4] *Theodori Stud. Ep.* II. 146. *Acta SS.* and *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον, Synaxaria* etc. Mar. 17 (Theosterictus), Mar. 28 (Hilarion), Apr. 1 (Macarius), *Anal. Boll.* XVI. (1897), 140 sqq. (*Acta S. Macarii*).

[5] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* c. 1165 (*Vita S. Stephani junioris*).

[6] Macarius was banished to Aphysia, where a *panegyris* is celebrated in his honour, Apr. 1.

[7] Cf. Sathas, *Μεσ. Βιβλ.* III. 594 (1658).

Behind the village of Triglia on a wooded hill stands the recently restored monastery of the Saviour called τοῦ Βαθέως Ῥύακος[1]. Its foundation is attributed by the Byzantine hagiographers to S. Basil[2]: he was succeeded as abbot by (1) Peter, called ὁ εὐλαβής, of Cappadocia[3], (2) Lucas of Lycaonia[4], and (3) Ignatius of Cappadocia[5]: the latter lived under Nicephorus Phocas and Zimisces (963—975).

Ignatius in his turn founded the monasteries of S. Elias Thesbites[6], the Holy Apostles[7], and the Taxiarch Michael. The two former, which were adjacent foundations for monks and nuns respectively, have disappeared, but the name Σίσβη (for Θεσβίτης), applied to a spot on the shore between Triglia and Mudania, marks the site.

Evangelides identifies the third with the church of S. Michael at Syke, but the date in the church, if correct, is prohibitive.

The church of S. Michael at Syke[8] still exists: the village is about half way between Triglia and Mudania and has a mixed population. The church has been much restored and added to at various dates. It is entered through an irregular quadrangular exonarthex opening south which dates from 1818. At the end facing the entrance is a grated door which gives access to a chamber where violent lunatic patients are confined. In this narthex is a new picture of S. Michael. The old narthex, which opens west but not in the axis of the church, is square and domed, the dome being supported by four arches borne on en-

[1] Mentioned by Cedr. II. 310 B. Cf. Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον Jan. 13. Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ προφητοῦ Ἠλίου τῆς καλουμένης τοῦ B. P. Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ προφητοῦ Ἠλίου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Βάθεως Ῥύακος. These probably refer to a chapel of S. Elias or possibly to the daughter monastery mentioned below.

[2] July 1. Βασιλείου τοῦ ὁσίου τοῦ συστησαμένου τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Βαθέως Ῥύακος (Βυζ. Ἑορτολ.).

[3] Sept. 7 in the *Synaxarion Cons'politanum* (μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου Πέτρου).

[4] Sept. 27 (*Acta SS.*, Βυζ. Ἑορτολ. etc.).

[5] Sept. 27. The order is given from the *Synaxarion* of Sirmond quoted in *Anal. Boll.* XIV. 415, where is also mentioned (Oct. 21) μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰακώβου οἰκονόμου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Βαθέως Ῥύακος.

[6] Θεοπτῆς in Βυζ. Ἑορτολ. Sept. 27. Some church of S. Elias had however existed a century before (cf. *Acta S. Macarii* in *Anal. Boll.* XVI. 152).

[7] *Anal. Boll.* XIV. p. 415 Ἐν τινὶ προαστείῳ σῆκόν τινα τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων.

[8] The correct name is Συκῆ, but the word has an obscene significance in Turkish and Συγὴ is the form in use.

gaged columns: on its northern wall are the miraculous pictures of SS. Michael and Gabriel. This inner narthex opens into the main body of the church, which is square, unencumbered with columns and covered by the great dome. There are *παρεκκλήσια* north and south on the upper floor, dedicated to SS. Charalambos (N.) and Nicholas (S.). The northern opens on the church by a triple arch supported on columns.

The church was built in 780, restored in 1448, and again in 1818, on the faith of the following inscription[1] which is built into the south wall of the narthex:—

+ οὗτος ὁ θεῖος ναὸς τῶν παμμεγίστων ταξιάρχ- |
ων ἀνεγέρθη τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κων- |
σταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου[2] κατὰ τὸ ἐ- |
πτακοσιοστὸν ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος, ἀνεκαινίσθ- |
η δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πα- |
λαιολόγου κατὰ τὸ χιλιοστὸν τετρακοσιοστὸν τε- |
σσαρακοστὸν ὄγδοον ἔτος, ἤδη δὲ ἀνοικο- |
δομήθη ἐπὴ (sic) τῆς κραταίας βασιλείας τοῦ κ- |
ραταιοτάτου καὶ εὐσπλαγκνικωτάτου ἄνα- |
κτος Σουλτὰν Μαχμοὺτ τοῦ β′ διὰ πρ- |
οσκυνητοῦ Χατίου κατὰ τὸ χιλιοστὸν ὀκτακο- |
σιοστὸν δέκατον ὄγδοον ἔτος ἀρχιερα- |
τεύοντος τοῦ πανιερωτάτου μητροπολίτου |
ἁγίου Προύσης Κυρίου Παναρέτου διὰ |
συνδρομῆς τῶν εὐσεβῶν |
χριστιανῶν.

The picture of S. Michael has a great reputation for curing the insane and the *panegyris* (Sept. 6) is much frequented. Incubation is practised, forty days (fasting) being the regular term. A leather suit (the *ex voto* of a grateful patient) hangs in the church and is said to be worn by the saint when he appears to sufferers[3].

[1] It is said to be based on an older inscription now lost.

[2] The local tradition as to the foundation of the monastery is that some children of Constantine, then at Brusa, lost their way and were set right by monks at Syke: Constantine built the monastery out of gratitude.

[3] MacFarlane II. 87 gives the following interesting account of this church:

The church, built by a Greek emperor towards the end of the eighth century, is a solid, massive, stone edifice. It is a place of pilgrimage and general resort; it is

Of other churches in the neighbourhood of Triglia, Evangelides mentions:

(1) S. Spyridon, half an hour from Triglia, where rags and cocks' heads are offered, especially by the deaf.

(2) S. George Κυπαρισσιώτης, three-quarters of an hour out, where is held the feast of Athenogenes, martyred under Diocletian[1]; the monastery is alluded to in the local couplet:

"'στὰ Μουντουνειὰ 'ναι 'να δενδρὶ καὶ 'στη Συγὴ μία βρύση[2],
'στὴ Τρίγλια τὴν ἐξακουστὴ εἶναι 'να κυπαρίσσι."

(3) S. Paraskeve, newly restored, inhabited by a fortune-telling hermit; *panegyris*, July 26.

(4) S. Athanasius, near Medicion (ruined), with *panegyris* Jan. 18.

Of this saint Hergès remarks[3] that "his grave was distinguished by a cypress which God made to grow out of the

the scene of an annual festival which lasts several days; it is more famous all over the country even than the church at Lubat. Miracles are performed in it and above all it is noted for its miraculous cures of insanity. According to the priests who shewed it to us, if you lost your wits your friends had nothing to do but to carry you to the church, lay you down on a mattress on the floor before the screen of the altar, and there leave you for one or two nights under the care of the saints and priests. A square antechamber, through which we passed before entering the body of the church, was piled up with mattresses and coverlets from the floor to the ceiling, ready to be let out to mad patients. It looked like a bedding-warehouse rather than the porch of a temple. The priest told us that when business was brisk they made a good penny by their mattresses and covers, and that the Turks, as well as the Greeks, brought their mad people to the church to be cured! This last curious and rather startling assertion was confirmed by our guide,...who had seen more than one Turk, as mad as March hares, carried to the miracle-working spot; and he had known others who were witless enough to believe that they had recovered their wits by being laid upon their backs in the Ghiaour Teke. Perhaps it is owing to this Turkish faith in the *miracula loci* that the church has been preserved from Mussulman fury during nearly eleven hundred years. In a remote part of Asiatic Turkey Bishop Southgate visited another church where madness was said to be cured in the same miraculous manner; but in that church the Greeks had chains and iron collars wherewith to secure the maniacs, and here there was nothing of the sort. He asked the priest how they managed with their obstreperous visitors, he said there was a holiness in the air which instantly calmed the mad, and that when they hung out the picture of St George of Cappadocia no madman could possibly rave. I heard rather a different story from another quarter.

[1] *Acta SS.* July 17.

[2] Presumably the *Ayasma* mentioned by Covel, which is just east of the village of Syki.

[3] p. 15.

heart of Athanasius. This miracle attracted crowds, and many who used with faith twigs broken from the tree were cured." This is presumably the cypress of Triglia mentioned in the couplet.

I heard also from the priest of Pelecete of S. Tryphon's well, half an hour west of Pelecete, the water of which is considered sovereign against rats and worms (*ποντικοὺς καὶ σκωλήκια*) if taken and sprinkled on the Saturdays of May.

Two local traditions mentioned by Evangelides are worth noticing: the first refers to a supposed human footprint (*Πατούμνια τοῦ Ἕλληνος*, inland from Triglia) referred to a giant[1] who, standing with one foot there and the other at Pelecete, bent down and drank in Besbicus: the second is the story of S. Elias' shipwreck, and the divine command to found a church among a people who "knew not the oar." The first is remarkable as preserving the ancient connection between giants and Besbicus, the second a curious parallel to the Odysseus episode, though, as Evangelides remarks, singularly inappropriate as applied to a church of Elias on the sea: but the tradition may refer to the older church of Elias mentioned in the *Vita Macarii*.

Caesarea Germanice.

Having spoken of Triglia we are bound to discuss the position of Caesarea Germanice which most authorities place in the immediate neighbourhood: we may say at the outset that there are few sites about which the available evidence is so conflicting. Our most profitable course is obviously to enumerate the passages which concern it.

(1) PLINY (*N.H.* v. 143) gives it the names Helgae, Booscete, and Germanicopolis, placing it *inland*: "Dein flumen Gelbes[2], et *intus* Helgas oppidum quae Germanicopolis alio nomine Booscete."

(2) PTOLEMY (v. 1. 14) enumerates it also among the inland cities of Bithynia.

(3) DIO CHRYSOSTOM (*Or.* 47, p. 546 R.) calls it a neighbour city of his native Brusa, much smaller than it, and commends its zeal for building.

(4) HIEROCLES places it in his list between Brusa and Apollonia in the Eparchia Pontices.

[1] For Ἕλλην = giant cf. Polites, *Νεοελληνικὴ Μυθολογία* II. 501 sqq.

[2] Solöeis? (cf. Menecrates ap. Plut. *Theseus*, 26). So Tomaschek II.

(5) The route of S. Quadratus[1], who was scourged through the cities of Asia under Decius, places Caesarea between Apamea (Mudania) and Apollonia[2].

(6) The life of S. Nicetas (c. 824)[3], a native of Caesarea, mentions a river to the south of the town: the monastery of Medicion (Triglia) was on the saint's way towards the sea.

We turn now to the evidence of

(7) the coin-types. The series of coins with *Καισαρείας Γερμανικῆς* is now attributed with certainty to the Bithynian city[4], on the evidence of certain pieces reading *Καισαρέων τῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ*[5], and one with the legend *Καισαρείας Γερμανικῆς, Ὄλυμπος*[6], and type of a mountain-god. These types are quite in harmony with an inland city between Brusa and Apollonia to which all our evidence hitherto points.

But we have further to reckon with later coins with the type of a galley[7] under sail or in harbour[8] which imply that Caesarea was a port.

The most natural solution, pending positive evidence, is to suppose that Caesarea itself lay inland, perhaps at Tachtali[9], and that it had a port at Triglia[10], whence indeed we have a fair number of inscriptions.

Of the history of this obscure provincial town we know nothing: we may surmise that it was founded by Germanicus on his eastern tour in A.D. 18, the year after the great earthquake:

[1] *Acta SS.* May 9.

[2] The stages given are: Nicaea, Apamea, Caesarea, Apollonia, Rhyndaca.

[3] *Acta SS.* Apr. 3. Another *Life* published by Evangelides has the following: *Καισάρειαν τὴν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πάντες ἴσασιν ὡς ὑπεξηρημένην τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων καὶ οἱονεὶ ἀποτετμημένην διά τε τὸ τοῦ πολίσματος ὀχυρώτατον καὶ ὡραῖον καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος εὔκρατον καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ τὸ κατὰ καιροὺς τῶν ἐπικαρπίων ἀφθονώτατον.*

[4] The coins run from Augustus to Valerian, and were formerly attributed to Germanicia Commagene. I have seen one with *Καισαρείας Γερμανικῆς πρὸς Ὀ.* in Brusa.

[5] Imhoof, *Gr. M.* p. 73 [597], 115 (Augustus).

[6] Imhoof, *M. Gr.* 439, there attributed to Germanicia Comm. which view is corrected in *Gr. M.* p. 73 [597].

[7] B. M. 7 (Valerianus). [8] B. M. 2 (Sept. Severus).

[9] This village was visited by Hamilton, by Munro, and by myself. There is a castle and inscriptions, amongst them one of a bishop John (cf. the list of Caesarean bishops). The village is in a healthy position and overlooks an extensive plain.

[10] Cf. Kleonymos, p. 43 (at Triglia) *σώζονται παραλίως πολλὰ ἐρείπια ἐντὸς τῶν θαλασσίων ὑδάτων*: a port at Triglia must needs be a built port.

a coin with Γερμανικὸς κτιστὴς is known[1]. The coin-types, considering the small importance of the town, include a great variety of divinities, Artemis, Apollo, Aphrodite and religious types, caduceus, serpent, etc., which is quite in harmony with the religious importance of the modern Triglia and its immediate neighbourhood.

[1] *Ann. de Num.* 1882, 106. Cf. *C.I.L.* III. 334 (Mudania).

CHAPTER VI.

APOLLONIA.

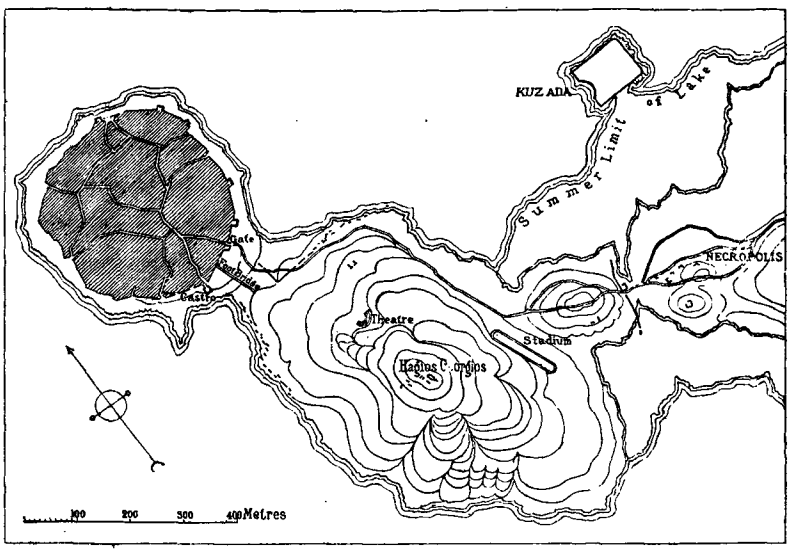


FIG. 2. PLAN OF ABOULLIOND [LEBAS].

Apollonia on the Rhyndacus.

APOLLONIA on the Rhyndacus preserves its ancient name[1] and curious site towards the north-western extremity of the lake of Aboulliond: the town has a population of 500 Greek and 130 Turkish families, chiefly engaged in fishing and the production of silk. It is situated on a long tongue of rock running far into the lake from the northern shore: this tongue narrows at two points to a width of no more than a few yards. Its extreme end is a low hill, nearly circular in shape, and entirely cut off from the mainland when the lake is high. On it is situated the greater part of modern Apollonia,

[1] Aboulliond, Apolloniada. The latter name is usual in the Byzantine historians.

a dirty town with steep, narrow, and tortuous streets, and tall, projecting timber-framed houses. The buildings on the shore of the lake are almost all built on the solid foundation of the ancient wall and towers, which alone could justify their dangerously ambitious height of four and five stories. The walls can be traced right round the island, and in some places stand to a

FIG. 3.
ABOULLIOND: TOWER CALLED "KASTRO" AND HILL OF S. GEORGE.

considerable height[1]. They seem to date chiefly from the late Roman period, and are roughly built of squared stones, derived in many cases from earlier buildings. Their most striking feature is undoubtedly the square tower, called "Kastro," standing free to the left of the footbridge, into which are built the inscribed epistyle blocks of a stoa presented to the town by Hadrian[2].

[1] See Lebas-Reinach, *Itin.* pls. 48, 49 for illustrations of the walls.

[2] *Inscr.* VI. 22 (Le Bas, *Inscr.* 1068) Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊ[ανὸς Ἁδρι]ανὸς Αὔ[γου]στος θεοῦ [Τραϊανοῦ υἱ]ὸς, θεοῦ Νε[ρούα υἱωνὸς τὴν στοὰν?] τῇ πόλει κα[τεσκεύασεν. A measured drawing of one block is shewn in Lebas-Reinach's *Voyage Archéologique.*

Just beyond it a recent fire has disclosed a postern gate and the coping of a quay[1].

Access to the town is gained by an entrance-tower of Byzantine date, oblong in plan, and originally barrel-vaulted and furnished with a gateway at either end. Inside of this two blocks projecting from the wall on either side of the street seem to mark the site of the inner gate of the Roman wall. Hamilton saw and sketched another gateway in the south-western tower, presumably that shewn in Lebas' plate.

Inside the walls Lebas placed the site of a temple of Apollo. Though the assumption may be correct, the evidence he adduces is too fanciful to give the theory any support[2].

The second division of the peninsula is the rocky hill of S. George, irregularly oval in shape and of slight elevation: it contains or contained remains of a rock-cut theatre and stadium[3]. The dark spires of the well-grown cypresses which crown its summit contrast prettily with the red tiles of the irregular line of houses which straggles along the road out of the town; while the view from S. George back to the piled-up town on the island, with its lichened roofs and white minaret, all backed by the hills on the further shore of the lake, goes far to make one forget the surpassing filthiness of the town itself.

The isthmus joining S. George with the mainland is defended by a Byzantine wall[4], of which considerable remains are still standing; in Hamilton's day it was still faced with marble.

[1] Hamilton II. 89 mentions substructions of terraces or of a cella of a temple west of the bridge.

[2] Reinach, *Voy. Arch.* p. 89 "Dans la ville actuelle plusieurs preuves subsistent de l'existence d'un temple d'Apollon. Ainsi, dans la tour d'un maison Grecque...on voit un fragment de sculpture qui répresente la tête d'Apollon radiée au-dessus d'un *ἔγκαρπον*....Tout près de là on voit encore le conduit souterrain auquel fait allusion l'inscription rapportée par Sestini [Inscr. VI. 23], et près de là par conséquent doit se trouver la place dont cette même inscription fait mention, place qui très-probablement était située en avant du temple."

[3] Reinach, p. 39 "On voit encore...l'emplacement d'un théâtre indiqué par quelques gradins et par la disposition semi-circulaire du sol: un stade dont il reste une grande partie de l'hémicycle oriental, plusieurs assises encore en place qui doivent avoir appartenu à l'enceinte primitive, etc."

[4] Cf. Anna Comnena VI. 13 *τὸν ἔξωθεν τοῦ κάστρου κύκλον κατέσχε*, and Theoph. I. 720 B. Local tradition holds that S. George was entirely occupied by houses before the Turkish wars.

Beyond the isthmus cultivation—chiefly mulberry orchards—begins: in this quarter Hamilton saw substructures of ancient tombs. North of this point, at a slight distance from the shore, is the low island called Kuz Ada[1], still preserving in part the massive quay walls of a Hellenistic temenos. By these walls the island has been formed into a rectangle some 70 × 45 metres, with a hemicycle and steps let in to the western end (facing the town): the supporting wall stood originally about two metres above low-water level, and was provided with three sets, at different heights, of pierced corbels for the mooring of boats. Within the wall Lebas found traces of substructures, two fragments of Ionic columns, and one of entablature from which (apparently) he restores[2] a hexastyle temple within a colonnade and surrounded by exedrae. If this was the site of the temple of the great Apollo it should be remarked that the building is shewn on coins as tetrastyle. The fragments are said by Lebas to come from a building not later than the third century B.C., which is not out of accord with the Sauroktonos type of cultus image shewn in the temple.

Strabo's reference to the possessions of Cyzicus in the Odryses country includes a vague mention of Apollonia, but the evidence of an early and continuous autonomous coinage makes it improbable that Cyzicus exercised more than a nominal hegemony[3]. The first literary mention of the town is no earlier than the first century B.C., in connection with Lucullus' capture of Mithradates' convoy on the Rhyndacus[4]. Pliny mentions that it belonged to the conventus of Adramyttium and so to the province of Asia, in spite of its position beyond the Rhyndacus, as also Stephanus reckons it to Mysia, not Bithynia. It used the Sullan era as appears from an inscription of Domitian[5].

[1] So Hamilton. Also Vasili Chori according to Lebas: I did not hear this name.

[2] *Voyage Archéologique*, Architecture, pl. II.

[3] Radet's suggestion that Apollonia was a Pergamene foundation is disproved by the earliest coins and rests at best on the mistake of Suidas, s.v. *Ἀπολλωνίας*.

[4] Plut. *Lucull.* 11. It is called in the authors Apollonia—*ἐπὶ Ῥυνδάκῳ*, Strabo 575, Steph. Byz., a Rhyndaco, Plin. v. 32, *πρὸς Ῥύνδακον*, Ptolemy v. 2, *C.I.G.* 2981 and coins.

[5] Inscr. III. 2.

The imperial coinage begins with the latter emperor and ends with Gallienus: no magistrates' names occur on coins (owing to the length of the town name, which occupies all the available space) but Inscr. III. 2 shews that the town was governed by a body of archons or strategi and mentions also an imperial procurator.

We gather from coin types, which represent Apollo in a variety of poses, that the chief cultus image was of the Sauroktonos type, this being often represented within a temple[1]. The god is frequently associated with Artemis, to whom is probably to be attributed an interesting votive inscription[2] (IV. 45) recording a dedication of "ears" evidently to a healing goddess. The usual triad is completed by Zeus Hypsistus who is known at Apollonia from Inscrr. IV. 7, IV. 13.

Apollonia became under the Byzantine empire a bishopric[3] of Pontus with the name of Theotokiana[4]: an underground church of the Panagia Pantocratissa is still one of the curiosities of the town, but the chief church is that of S. George. The natural defences of the town fitted it, as we have seen, for a Byzantine rallying-place. Villehardouin[5] calls it ("Le Pulinach") "un des plus forts et meilleurs chastiaux on peut querre, situé sur un lac de l'eau douce." The date of its final capture is not known, but may be placed in the early years of the 14th century.

Metopa.

A small ruin at Karagatch[6] on a promontory a few miles west of Apollonia may represent the "castrum Apolloniadis lacui vicinum, cognomenti 'Metopa[7]'"

[1] B.M. Cat. 26, 27, 29, 30. A stele built into the wall of a house on the hill of S. George shews the god as Citharoedus.

[2] It is tempting to connect the hill of S. George the dragon-slayer with the shrine of Apollo Pythoctonus and the shrine of Kuz Ada ("Maiden Island") with a temple where Artemis was the presiding goddess. Dallaway saw architectural details and foundations on the hill of S. George (p. 182).

[3] Lequien I. 613. It is now in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Nicomedia, together with the surrounding villages, and the seat of the bishop's representative.

[4] Lequien, *ad loc. cit.* VI., VII. [5] 170.

[6] Karagatch and Goulios are in reality identical though Kiepert marks them separately. Perrot could not find "Ullio" (*Galatie*, p. 91).

[7] Μέτωπον was the name of a promontory opposite Byzantium. See P. Gyllius quoting Dionysius (frg. 27) "Nomen invenit a figura: nam ex continentis parte planum est ...ex parte maris declivis et praeceps." Cf. also Κριου μέτωπον in Crete and elsewhere.

in *Acta SS.* Feb. 4, p. 548[1]. Perrot found ancient remains there[2], and Fontanier "restes de fortifications d'un genre sevère[3]." Kiepert, however, places Metopa on the south shore, where the passage between the hills and the lake is easily blocked[4].

The islands of the lake were in former times occupied by monasteries of Constantine, Paraskevé, and Daniel. In one of these the patriarch Arsenius was educated[5]. Gerlach[6] mentions that in his time there were six or seven monks at S. Constantine and a metropolitan at Apollonia.

[1] The *Vita Theodori Studitae* LXXX. (Migne) has τῷ ἀντίπεραν τῆς λίμνης κάστρῳ ὁ Μέτωπα καλεῖται.

[2] *Souvenir*, p. 86. [3] p. 99.

[4] Cf. Munro, p. 155.

[5] Acrop. ch. liii. 113 B., Niceph. Greg. I. 55, Ephr. 8948. 1029 ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, and the Ἀνώνυμος Σύνοψις Χρονική, p. 511 ἐν τινὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀπολλωνιάδα λίμνην νησιδίων. Georgios Limniotes (Βυζ. Ἑορτολόγιον-Aug. 24), a monk of Olympus, was probably from Apolloniatis, though Ramsay claims him for Pisidia (*B.S.A.* IX. 252).

[6] p. 257. Cf. Kleonymos, p. 39 Ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς λίμνης εὕρηνται νησίδρια τρία, ἐξ ὧν τὸ μέγιστον καλεῖται τῆς Καδίνας, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου, ἔνθα καὶ ναὸς [for ἐκκλησία] ἀρχαῖος εὑρίσκεται, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Κὶζ Κουλὲ, ἔχον φρούριον καὶ πύργον.

CHAPTER VII.

MILETUPOLIS, LOPADIUM, MIHALLITCH.

Miletupolis. (Μιλητούπολις, Μειλητού-πολις.)

THERE have been hitherto two claimants for the site of Miletupolis, Mihallitch and Melde near Kermasti. The former has been accepted till recently with some confidence, even by Kiepert, while the latter has recently produced evidence which seems incontestable. Mihallitch is a large straggling town situated on a low hill sloping gradually down to the plain except on the abrupt western side, at the junction of the Tarsius, Macestus, and Rhyndacus, and about four miles from the bridge over the latter at Ulubad. The site is well adapted for a town, and it is difficult to believe that there was no ancient settlement on the site; it is also near Lopadium, with which Miletopolis is associated on the ecclesiastical lists, and many inscriptions, including one with the name of Miletopolis[1], have been discovered there. The two objections were the absence of any ruins on the site and the distance from the lake of Manyas, which is generally considered the ancient Miletopolitis.

The alternative site Melde, which was identified by local tradition with Miletopolis apparently so early as Sestini[2], and preserves traces of the name, lies on the low hills south of the plain of Mihallitch, some ten miles south of that town, two miles west of the Rhyndacus, and three from the market town (Thursdays) and Kaza of Kermasti[3]. The latter, we may remark in passing, is extremely picturesquely situated on both banks of the Rhyndacus, here crossed

Kermasti.

[1] Inscr. VI. 7.

[2] Lett. VIII. "Melet," wrongly stated to be on the Lake Majas (Manyas). Munro now places Miletupolis certainly at Melde. *J.H.S.* XXI. 237. Cf. XVII. 272.

[3] Cuinet gives the population as 2685 M., 1148 G., 887 A., 80 J.

by a wooden bridge. On the right bank are remains of a castle and a mosque which is said to have been a church: it still retains much elegant stone detail, and bears the name of Lala

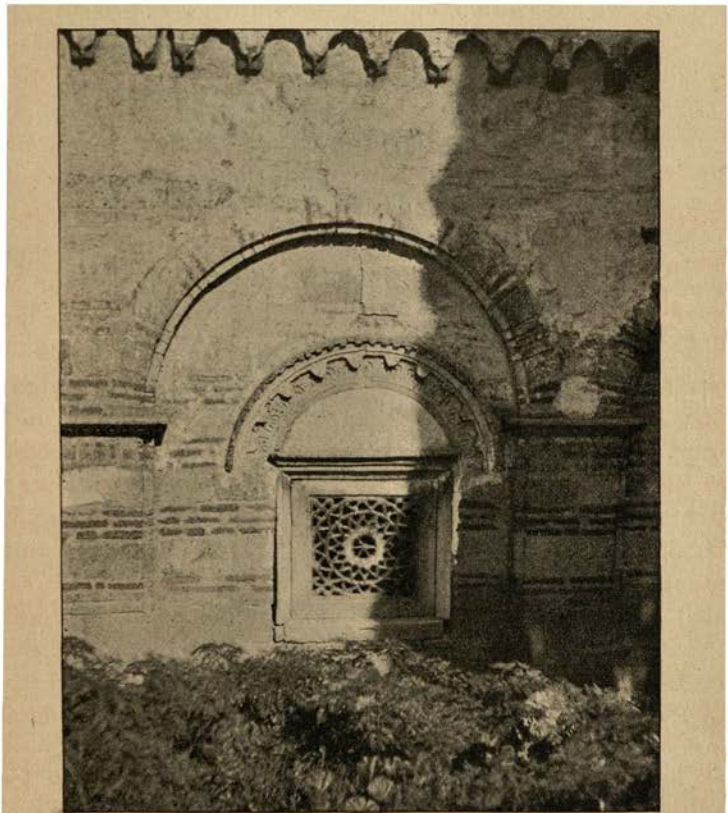


FIG. 4. KERMASTI: GRILLE IN TURBEH OF LALA SHAHIN.

Shahineh[1]. The identification of Kermasti with Hiera Germe rests merely on the name (which Kiepert interprets with much more probability as Cremaste), and does not agree with Ptolemy[2].

[1] See Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 111, 112. "Lala Shahin tutor of Orchan...built in Kermasty a bridge and a dervishes' convent." (Cf. Bratutti 81, Leunclavius, p. 18, and *Lib. Sing.* § 30, Chalcon. (Σαΐνης) 36, and Von Hammer I. 113.)

[2] See notes on Hiera Germe. Some authors call the place Kirmazli (Red-place), a Turkish perversion similar to Sivasli (=Sebaste) in formation.

I find no mention of it earlier than Seaddin's account of the conquest of Karassi[1].

Melde.

At Melde there are few ruins above ground, but an illicit excavation, opposite the fifth kilometre stone from Kermasti on the Mihallitch road, has lately brought to light massive marble architrave blocks and other detail. Kermasti is always full of coins of Miletupolis, which are rarely seen at Mihallitch. The identification is further supported by the evidence of the bridge at Sultan-Chair, which is the link between Miletupolis and Hadrianutherae on the Cius-Pergamon road.

The topographical evidence of the authors is slight. Stephanus places the town between Cyzicus and Bithynia, by the Rhyndacus, while he speaks vaguely of Aphneion, probably through the confusion about the lakes, as near Cyzicus or Miletupolis[2]. Pliny[3] mentions Miletopolitae in his account of Mysia and speaks of the lake Artynia (= Apolloniatis) as near it[4]. I am inclined to believe that the lakes of Miletupolis and Apollonia—it fell between the territories of both cities—were identical, which accounts for the great confusion and does away with the remoteness of Miletupolis from its lake. Apollonia is evidently the lake referred to as near Miletupolis (ἡ πλήσιον λύμνη (sic)) in the *Vita S. Parthenii*[5]. The connection of Miletupolis and Lopadium in the ecclesiastical lists suits Melde as well as Mihallitch.

Sources for the early history of Miletupolis are almost non-existent. Its foundation was attributed to an eponym Miletus[6], and the autonomous coins, which date from the fourth century, are of Athenian types[7], though the town is not mentioned in the Delian confederation accounts. This founder Miletus is evidently the son of Melas, who fled from Sadyattes to Dascylium and Proconnesus[8], though he is probably of much

[1] Ed. Bratutti.

[2] Cf. also T. Reinach, *Mithr. Eupator*, p. 200.

[3] *N.H.* v. 123. [4] *ib.* 142. [5] 7th Feb., p. 38.

[6] The spelling of the town's name varies between Μειλητούπολις and Μελιτούπολις. The hero is called ΜΕΙΛΗΤΟC on coins (*Num. Chron.* 1906). The earliest coin appears to be one published in *N.C.* 1904, 299.

[7] Cf. "Αττικον αἷμα in an inscription (v. 56). [8] Nic. Damasc. fr. 63.

earlier origin, and essentially identical with the mythical eponym of Miletus[1].

Demetrius of Scepsis[2] says that the inhabitants of Miletupolis were deported by "the Kings" (i.e. Antigonus or Lysimachus?) to their foundation of Gargara, so that the latter had become half barbarous; there must, therefore, in spite of the boasted Athenian descent, have been a large native population.

The trade of the great road down the Macestus probably passed mainly direct to Cyzicus in Greek times; under the improved communications of the Roman empire, however, Miletupolis waxed in importance and issued a large series of coins from Vespasian to Philip II.: the types include Athena, Artemis, Hermes, and Caduceus. The inscription of a Miletopolitan athlete who dedicated a statue at Cyzicus to his *κυρία πάτρις*[3] may suggest that the town was largely under the influence of Cyzicus, which indeed we should expect from Strabo's account of her territory.

The Byzantine bishopric of Miletupolis is represented as existing as early as Constantine by the *Acta S. Parthenii*[4]. Later Notitiae[5] connect it with Lopadium, and Miletupolis was, according to local tradition, destroyed by an earthquake "before the Turkish wars[6]."

[1] He is said to have been a grandson of Minos by Sch. Ap. Rh. I. 185, and was generally thought to be of Cretan origin. Another example of the mythic hero god with a Lydian counterpart is to be found in Attis and Atys (*Golden Bough* II. 135). Considering the very various spelling of the name we may perhaps connect it with the name of the river worshipped at Smyrna, and possibly with Meles, king of Sardis (Hdt. I. 84). Melas, the name of Miletus' father, is also a common river name; the connection is curiously paralleled by the river name Lycus in Pontus: Lycus was said to be a son of Dascylus (the son of the Lydian Tantalus) and a nymph, daughter of the river Lycus (Sch. Ap. Rh. II. 752; cf. 724: the pedigree of Rhesus is similar: cf. the legend of Aeneas and Numicius). The type is that of an armoured warrior with spear and round concave shield stepping from a prow; it occurs on coins of several other Asiatic towns.

[2] Ap. Str. 611. Orosius mentions the town in connection with the Mithradatic war, VI. 2, 10.

[3] Inscr. III. 51.

[4] 7 Feb., p. 37.

[5] No. X. Cf. also unpublished Notitia quoted in Ramsay's *Geography* 160. The conjunction occurs as late as 1315 (*Act. Patr. Const.* I. 3).

[6] P. Gyllius (*de Top. Const.* I.) mentions "Miletopolis juxta Rhyndacum *quam equidem vidi funditus eversam, lacui Apolloniati propinquam, adhuc nomen retinentem.*"

Lopadium is first mentioned in a letter of Theodorus Studites[1], but merely as a stopping place where there was a caravanserai; with this it is interesting to compare a contemporary Byzantine seal of the Xenodochus of Lopadium[2]. An earlier settlement may have existed; I was told of a terra cotta group or relief of "a man, woman, and snake" (Asklepios and Hygeia?) found within the walls: the "monastery" of S. Michael is still used for incubation. It is possible that the early settlement was the Ἀρταίου[3] τεῖχος ἐπὶ Ῥύνδακι of *C.I.A.* I. 37 and Stephanus.

Lopadium Bridge.

Of the bridge, a notable strategic point in Byzantine history, a good many piers are still visible, east of the present wooden structure and near the north-east corner of the fortification; they are built of squared blocks, but the ruins are too much damaged for a study in detail. The original structure was probably built by Constantine, after the choice of the new capital, to connect the Hellespontine province with Cius and Nicaea. S. Philetaerus'[4] journeying from Nicaea to Cyzicus (under Maximian) mentions the Rhyndacus but not Lopadium, and there was apparently no bridge in 258 A.D. when the Scythians were turned back from Cyzicus by the flooded river[5]: Anna Comnena further tells us that the bridge was called in her day the bridge of Constantine, from a chapel upon it[6] dedicated to him by Helena.

The fortified town built by John Comnenus[7], who used it as the base of his campaigns on the Sangarius, is represented by

[1] Lett. I. 3 (c. 796 A.D.) Κατεπαύσαμεν ἐν τῷ Λουπαδίῳ φιλοφρόνως συμπαθηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ξενοδόχου; Λουπάδιον also in Phrantza II. 7: the name is also spelt Λοπάδιον (*passim*), Λοφάδιον (G. Pachy. *Andron. Pal.* IV. 236), Λυπάδιον (*Notit.* XI.). It may perhaps be connected with the oyster trade, for which shellfish Cyzicus at least was famous. (Plin. XXXII. 21; cf. *Priap.* 76 ostreosa.) Cf. Lopadoussa in Libya. Str. 834.

[2] Schlumberger, *Sigillographie Byzantine*, p. 246, Λουπαδίου.

[3] Ἀρταῖος is said to be Persian for ἥρως, cf. Hdt. VII. 61, Hesych. s.v., and Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρταία. A recent *trouvaille* of Persian sigli at Kermasti suggests however that the Persian post was on the upper Rhyndacus.

[4] *Acta SS.* 19 May.

[5] Zosimus I. 35.

[6] XIV. 5 ἐν τῇ γεφύρᾳ: cf. VI. 13.

[7] Cinn. II. 5 (38 B.), Nic. Chon. 24 B. Cinnamus says that John Comnenus restored the fortress (φρούριον αὐτῷ ἐκ καινῆς ᾠκοδομήθη).

the modern village of Ulubad[1] situated on the left bank of the Rhyndacus just below the lake. It consists of 13 Greek families, inside the walls, possessing two humble churches of S. Michael, and a large Circassian settlement, mostly outside the walls towards the west. The place has evidently decayed steadily, as the accounts of succeeding travellers shew: in Gerlach's time there were six churches, the chief being of the Panagia[2].

MacFarlane mentions that it was still a great religious centre till the coming of the Circassians in 1845 rendered the *panegyris* of S. Michael (Sept. 6th) insecure for the Greeks. Of the present churches (both dedicated to S. Michael) the larger bears the inscription:

> Ἀνῳκοδομήθη ἐκ βάθρων ὁ λαμπρότατος οὗτος ναὸς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ ἐπὶ τοῦ πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Νικαίας Κὺρ Ἰωσὴφ δαπανῇ καὶ ἐξόδῳ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν τῆς πολιτείας Μιχαλιτζίου, τοῦ Λειβαδοχωρίου, τῶν τε γειτονικῶν χριστιανικῶν χωρίων καὶ τῶν ξένων συνδρομητῶν ἔτει σωτηρ. 1847 Σεπτεμβρίου.

In the west wall of the church is built a low relief of the saint, said to have been found during the building, and then engraved with its present inscription.

The second church, which stands near the first, is reputed of great age and superior sanctity; around it is a cloister of sheds for the accommodation of pilgrims. The building itself is of the meanest, but contains a small miracle-working picture of great age painted on canvas[3]: it is in this church that incubation is practised. At the time of his visit MacFarlane saw two children lying before the altar, one in a high fever, the other suffering from a damaged kneecap. Lunatics are tied to a beam at the west end of the church: the usual period of incu-

[1] The name *Ulu-abad* means great city, a popular etymology of the ancient *Lopadium*. Λειβαδοχώριον in the inscription below is an attempt to derive the word from the popular Greek λειβάδιον = meadow.

[2] p. 257.

[3] A second picture, said to be of inferior antiquity, bears the date 1533, but has been much repainted.

bation is 40—60 days. A replica of the picture is sent out to patients unable to come in person, and is hung over their beds: the *ayasma* in the church is also said to have healing properties, but is applied externally only.

The Byzantine *enceinte*, which has decayed very much even since Landron's sketch[1], is a trapezium about 475 × 150 metres, protected on its long northern side by the river, and on the east

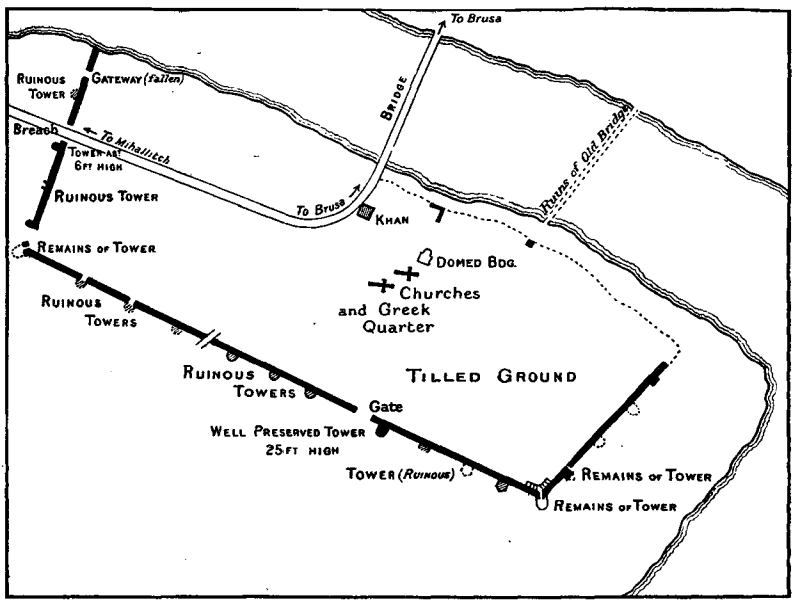


FIG. 5. SKETCH PLAN OF ULUBAD.

by a small tributary: the wall facing the river has almost completely disappeared; the other three are preserved in some places to almost their full height; they are solidly built of rubble and tile, about 3·00 metres thick, and studded with towers; there seem to have been twelve on the long, and six on the short sides.

The best-preserved portion is that adjoining the S.-E. corner. Inside the corner itself are two ruined stairways, parallel with

[1] *Itin.* Pl. 44.

the walls and supported each on an arch and a half-arch, which led to the footway along the top of the walls.

Earlier descriptions of the ruins[1] are somewhat vague. Spon says the towers were round and pentagonal, Egmont three-, four-, and five-sided, Prokesch[2] round, hexagonal and octagonal; one well-preserved round tower projecting considerably more

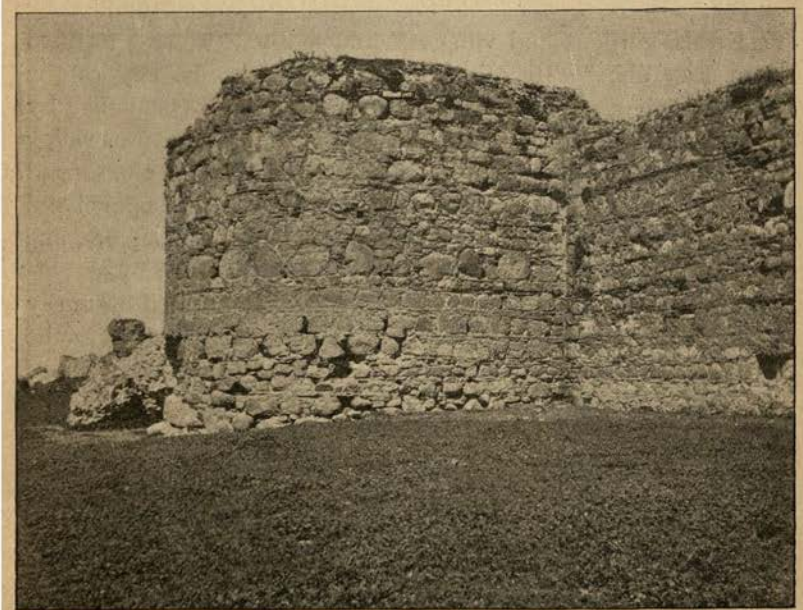


FIG. 6. ULUBAD: TOWER ON THE SOUTH WALL.

than its width from the curtain remains[3], and ruins of several which appear to have been of a narrow pentagonal form.

Gerlach[4] saw five gates with crosses and rosettes on the

[1] Prokesch 192, Spon 1. 289, Dallaway 157, Egmont 189. Moustier's sketch is, I think, untrustworthy. [2] p. 194.

[3] The fourth, counting westward, from the south-east corner.

[4] 256—7 "Lupata ist eine alte Stadt, die Mauren theils niedergeworffen, theils noch gantz: hat noch bey 5 Thor daran wie auch an Christenzeichen gesehen werden. Am ersten Thor dabey ein starckes Wasser durch eine steinerne Brücken vorüber fleisst: hat es ein anders verworffenes Thor, ober welchem überzwerch ein Marmel-

lintels. The simple gateway at the north-west corner figured by Le Bas is almost unrecognisable.

As a strategic point, commanding the Rhyndacus bridge—it could only be avoided by a *détour* round the lake, three days' rough march[1]—Lopadium figures largely in the history of the centuries succeeding its construction. Edrisi (1117)[2] calls it "a considerable town with divers buildings and markets situated on the banks of a river fitted for great ships and surrounded by vineyards, gardens and villages," and again[3], "a great fortified town Lubadhia." Its military importance as the key of the western defences of the Hellespontine province was equalled by its commercial facilities as the head of the great Macestus valley road, and a secure walled town in troubled times. In the second crusade Conrad and Louis meet at the "château de Lupar[4]" and proceed up the valley. Villehardouin[5] calls it "Le Lupaire, une des meilliors cités de la terre."

The ecclesiastical importance of Miletupolis passed naturally to the fortified town: a bishop of Lopadium is mentioned at the time of the town's revolt from Andronicus Comnenus (1184)[6] and the Franks made the place the seat of a Latin bishop during their supremacy[7]. In the Greek episcopal lists Lopadium is used as early as 1256 as the only title[8], though the earliest record of the archbishopric (1315) includes Miletupolis[9]: later Lopadium only is mentioned[10]. The archbishopric would seem

stein eingemauret und ein Creutz daran gehauen. Nahe bey diesem Thor, an einem Thurm der Mauer zwei unterschiedliche Zeichen wie Rosen oder andere Kräuter an der nächsten Pforten 3 Creutze an der dritten Pforten sitzet eine Frau in einem Stuhl."

[1] Ducas 167 B.

[2] In the *Recueil de la Soc. de Géog.* II. 305; his map is published by Llewel.

[3] 195 *recto.*

[4] Odo de Diogilo ed. Guizot XXIV. 346. Cf. the Latin bishopric (Lequien III. 943) Libarensis.

[5] Ducange, *Par.* 170.

[6] Nicet. Chon. 363, 374 B.; but there is reason to believe that the bishop of Hadriani is meant, as in some MSS. (see Lambros).

[7] Libarensis, Lequien III. 942.

[8] *Act. Patr. Const.* I. 119; cf. I. 164 (1331).

[9] *Ib.* I. 3.

[10] *Ib.* I. 144 (1327); I. 147 (1329); I. 164 (1331); *Notit.* XI. (1346). The double

to date from the restored Greek empire. After 1327 the archbishop of Lopadium has the additional title *πρόεδρος Γαρέλλης* which, according to Lambros, implies that the bishopric was *in partibus* and perhaps gives a clue to the final conquest by the Turks.

In Turkish history Lopadium or Ulu-abad (great city) appears under the first Sultan: according to Seaddin, Othman made a compact with the (Karassian?) governor of Lopadium, in return for services rendered, never to cross the bridge—the historian naïvely adds that "in times of need" the passage was made in boats—but on the reduction of Karassi, Orkhan destroyed it[1] and erected a wooden one in its stead. The walls of Lopadium were razed in return for the treachery of the governor[2], and Orkhan built a caravanserai in its place. The bridge continued to be an important strategic point. Here in 1403[3] the generals of Mohammed and Isa, the rival claimants for the throne at the death of Bayezid, met for the first time and decided the struggle in favour of Mohammed. Here again Mohammed I. reviewed his troops on his way from Brusa to Pergamon[4], and Murad in 1421 defeated the pretender Mustafa[5]; and so late as 1607, in the rebellion of Kalenderoghlu[6], the bridge was garrisoned against the rebels on their way from Brusa[7]. The only recorded Lopadian "worthy" is the gigantic Hassan who was conspicuous at the siege of Constantinople[8].

bishopric may be the explanation of Lequien's *Rhyndacene* diocese, but cf. Rhundaca in *Acta SS.*, May 9, and Steph. Byz. s.v. Rhyndacus, both earlier than the Byzantine fortress.

[1] This is a possible interpretation of the tradition preserved by Prokesch III. 192, which attributes the destruction of the bridge to Osman.

[2] Seaddin 52.

[3] Bratutti I. 274, Von Hammer I. 269—270.

[4] Ducas 85 B., Von Hammer I. 271.

[5] Chalc. 225 B., Ducas 167 B., Von Hammer I. 315, quoting Bratutti II. 5. Cantemir (tr. Tindal, p. 81) represents Murad on the Adrianople side of the bridge. In answer to his prayers Mustafa was seized with a violent bleeding at the nose and taken at Karagatch.

[6] Von Hammer II. 710, Naima (Or. Trans. Fund 348).

[7] The sequel varies in our authors. Von Hammer says that the rebels were defeated by Silistrian reinforcements (*viâ* Gallipoli) in the plain of Manyas, Naima that the rebels were victorious over those reinforcements at Gunen.

[8] Phrantzes.

Issiz Khan.

The caravanserai is probably represented by the ruined but still imposing Issiz Khan[1], half an hour from Ulubad on the further side of the Rhyndacus. This building is mentioned by many travellers between Ulubad and Brusa,

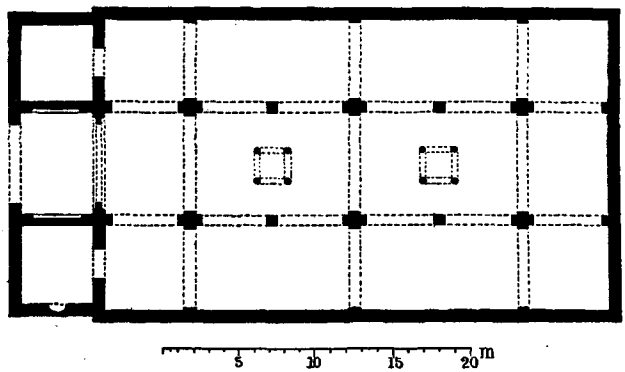


FIG. 7. ISSIZ KHAN: SKETCH PLAN.

and best described by Turner[2]. Gerlach[3] (on the evidence of the inscription over the doorway) says it was built (or rebuilt?) by Murad II. (1422—1450). This may refer to the chambers flanking the entrance which are separated by a straight joint from the main building. The khan is an oblong building with a low gable; it measures about 44 yards by 22, and is solidly built of brick and squared stone in regular courses. Two courses of stone blocks about 0·40 m. deep alternate with bands of brickwork of a depth of 0·35 m. The quoins are of stone throughout. The deeply-recessed entrance, on the south side, is flanked by two small chambers; it opens on a great hall divided by piers with plain chamfered capitals into a nave of six bays and slightly elevated side aisles. The segmental pier-arches and plain barrel vaults are of brick, the central vault being stilted to correspond

[1] Called (1) Hassiz Khan by Sestini 85, (2) Kiz Khan by Hamilton II. 93, (3) Kirsiz Khan by Perrot and Guillaume 176 "through its being made a receptacle for Rogues," Covel, (4) Issiz Khan by Munro, p. 51.

[2] III. 189.

[3] p. 257 "Von Sultan Murat dem II. erbauet wie ober dem Thor auf Türkisch eingehauen stehet."

with the increased height under the gable; between the second and fourth pairs of piers are open hearths, from which chimneys, each supported by four columns, carry off the smoke[1].

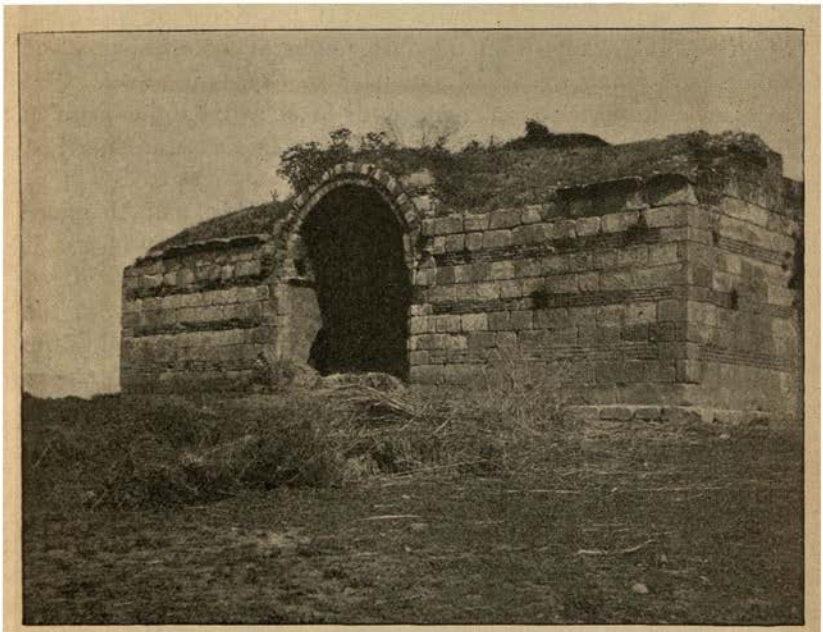


FIG. 8. ISSIZ KHAN.

Between the khan and Ulubad is the Gypsy fountain (Tchengen Tcheshme) probably, as Munro suggests[2], to be identified with the Βρύσις τοῦ καρύκεως λεγομένη of Anna Comnena XV. 1.

Mihallitch.

After the destruction of Lopadium its place was taken by Mihallitch, mentioned first by Seaddin in connection with the conquest of Karasi. It is represented as governed like Kermasti by a Greek prince, a vassal of Orkhan. Chalcondyles[3] mentions the town (Μιχαλίκιον) in his account of the severing of the bridge in 1421[4].

[1] An illustration of the interior is published in *Sitzb. Berl. Acad.*, 1898, 584.

[2] p. 162.

[3] 225 B. The first occurrence of the name is in a Frankish sarcophagus inscription at Pera (1397. See *B.S.A.* XI. p. 57).

[4] The name finds parallels in Symeon Magister's μονὴ τοῦ Μιχαηλιτζῆ (643),

Fortification was now not indispensable, and Mihallitch had the advantage of a small port, Mihallitch Iskalesi, two hours down the Macestus, whence goods were shipped to Constantinople. The town stood thus between Brusa, Constantinople and Smyrna[1]. Caravans from the latter split at the opening of the valley, part going to Brusa, and part to Constantinople[2]. The mediaeval importance of this route is shewn by the massive Turkish causeway and ruined bridge over the Macestus just north of Mihallitch.

The place is now inhabited by a large Turkish and Albanian[3] population and about 900 Greek and Armenian families[4]: it covers a large area and is rendered picturesque by its dilapidated houses with projecting upper storeys, built of wood with tile filling, and frequent cypress-trees and minarets. Several of the mosques are old, dating presumably from the prosperous period of the town's history when it stood at the head of the Smyrna road. The place gained an unenviable notoriety in 1846 owing to a massacre of Christian Albanian immigrants: their story is given by Mordtmann[5].

Of the mosques the Imaret, a once magnificent building ruined by the earthquake of 1855, was built by Karadja Pasha, Beylerbey of Rumili, who fell before Belgrade in 1456[6]: his turbeh is in the western bay of the porch. The plan of the building is a simplified version of the contemporary Yeshil Jami at Brusa, i.e. four domed compartments arranged as a headless

Mikhailly near Thyateira (*Sitzb. Preuss. Acad.*, 1894, p. 900), Mikhayil near Prymnessus (Rams. *Phryg.* 31), and Μιχαλιτζῆ near Nicomedia (Meletius, *Bithynia*, § 7). There is a village of the same name in Epirus near Prevesa, and it is not improbable that the town was settled with slaves by some early pasha (cf. below, p. 154). Seaddin derives the name from a Christian prince Michael who held the place in the reign of Orkhan, Kermasti being held by his sister Kermastoria, but this is probably merely fantasy.

[1] Cf. Le Bas, *Rév. Phil.* I. 39. [2] Cf. Von Egmont 189.

[3] Mahommedan dependents of Ghalib Pasha: the remnant of the persecuted Christian immigrants of 1846 passed on to the Brusa district.

[4] Cuinet assesses the population at 600 M., 6781 G., 400 A., but the Mahommedan element has probably increased.

[5] *Ausland* 1858, 556 ff.; cf. also MacFarlane.

[6] Von Hammer I. 442, Laon. Chalc. 419 B. Karaja Pasha seems to be confused locally with Karaji Achmet, a sheikh of the reign of Orkhan, buried near Akhissar (Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 115; cf. Ramsay in *IX. Congr. of Orientalists* II. 382).

Greek cross, with a porch along the long (northern) side. The domes and pendentives are of brick, the rest of the building of a coarse brownish sandstone. Brick is inserted in the joints except in the minaret which is of stone throughout. The north porch, which consisted of five domed bays and rested on pillars of breccia and marble in alternate blocks[1], has almost disappeared. From the central bay an elegant portal in breccia and marble[2] leads directly to the central and southern domes: the latter is entirely ruined. Immediately inside the entrance passages run east and west, each leading directly to a spiral staircase (the western is that of the minaret) and opening south to the subsidiary east and west domes.

The Tumbekli Djami is a small simple building, orientated about east-north-east and constructed of stone and tile in courses: tile is used for the arches of the windows and for the projecting cornices. The building consists of three parts; (*a*) the narthex, divided from the main body by a colonnade of three arches, the central slightly pointed; (*b*) the main body, a square roofed by a rather high dome resting on an octagonal drum; (*c*) a northern annexe opening from the narthex, and apparently contemporary with the main building, though the roofs are clumsily joined.

Though both buildings contain ancient fragments, I see no reason to believe that either was formerly a church[3].

The present Greek church (S. Demetrius) is a plain structure rebuilt in 1805.

[1] Mordtmann in *Ausland* 1855, p. 556, who curiously calls the building "eine prächtige Griechische Kirche welche 1457 in eine Moschee verändelt wurde," possibly on the authority of the inscription, but the building is throughout Turkish, though old blocks were used.

[2] Illustrated in *Sber. Berl. Ak.* 1898, 552, 553.

[3] Local tradition attributes this origin to the Tumbekli, and Mordtmann affirms the same of the Imaret (*Ausland*, 1855, 556).

CHAPTER VIII.

HADRIANUTHERAE, BALUKISER.

Hadrianutherae.

HADRIANUTHERAE stood on the road from Cyzicus and Miletupolis to Pergamon, about its middle point. Its site has consequently long been placed in the neighbourhood of Balukiser, which occupies a similar central position on the roughly corresponding modern route from Panderma and Brusa-Ulubad to Soma.

Balukiser stands under a low hill near the north-west corner of its well-watered plain, which drains east into the middle course of the Macestus (about Kebsud), and communicates northwards by the valley of that river, and by the pass of Demir kapu (slightly west of it), with the lower lying coast levels; south and west of the plain the passes of the main watershed afford it communication with Smyrna and Adramyt respectively.

The town itself is a large and picturesque market centre (Tuesday) with well-stocked bazaars: a yearly fair, lasting a month and frequented by merchants from Adramyt, Brusa, and Smyrna, is held there on the 5th September and following days[1]. The population includes some two hundred Greek families, with a school and church of the Κοίμησις and a considerable Armenian element[2].

Administratively it is the seat of the Mutessarif of Karassi, originally an independent Seljuk principate governed by its eponymous founder and his descendants, and taken over by the Osmanlis under Orkhan. Of the Seljuk princes of Karassi we

[1] Mordtmann, *Ausland*, 1854, p. 736; cf. Walpole II. 143 where the date is given as the 2nd Safir. Laborde, p. 19.

[2] Cuinet's figures are 9875 M., 1266 G., 1941 A.

know little: the territory[1] was acquired by Karassi, or by his father Kalami[2] who was succeeded by his son Demir Khan: the latter ruled in Balukiser while Orkhan held Brusa[3]. He is evidently the ἄρχων τῆς Φρυγίας Ταμηρχάνης τοῦ Γιαξῆ who made terms with the Greek emperor at Pegae in 1328[4]. The country under him is described in enthusiastic terms by Schihab-ed-din who mentions its maritime power and exports of silk and laudanum[5]. Demir Khan was probably succeeded by Seaddin's Aglan-beg, at whose death intrigue brought the principality to Orkhan[6].

Karassi was enlarged by the addition of the Sanjak of Bigha in 1876 (when the Dardanelles ceased to be the capital of the Archipelago) and remained a vilayet till 1888 when it was joined to Brusa, and the Bigha Sanjak placed under the central government[7]. Balukiser was already, in Seljuk times, a "large and beautiful town[8]," and was embellished under the Osmanlis with the usual pious works. Bayezid Yilderim founded the mosque and medresseh near the river[9]: the mosque has a rather quaint interior divided into nave and aisles by two ranges of stilted arches resting on short columns: some of the latter have Roman and Byzantine caps. The mosque and turbeh of Zaganos Pasha the vizir of Mahommed II.[10] have only lately been pulled down and rebuilt by the last governor after sustaining great damage in the recent earthquake. Hadji Khalfa mentions an aqueduct built by the same Zaganos Pasha and a mosque and tekkeh founded by a certain Lutf-Ullah Bairam who was himself buried there[11]. To Zaganos are also attributed the foundation of

[1] Φρυγία Μεγάλη ἀπὸ Ἄσσου πόλεως ἄχρι καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου (Ducas 13, 14 B.): Τὰ Λυδίας ἔστε Μυσίαν (Chalc. 15 B.).

[2] So Chalcondyles.

[3] Schihab-ed-din, Ibn Batutah.

[4] Cantac. I. 339. Γιαξῆ=Iakdji, *brother* of Demir Khan and prince of Mermere in Schihab-ed-din.

[5] pp. 339, 353.

[6] A list of the princes of Karassi is given by Mas Latrie (*Trésor*, col. 1795).

[7] Cuinet III. 692.

[8] Ibn Batuta, p. 73. [9] Cf. Hadji Khalfa, p. 514.

[10] Von Hammer I. 422; Chalcondyles 383 etc.

[11] p. 482. I saw, in 1904, several granite shafts and a capital of very elegant arabesque design on the site of the new mosque of Zaganos, then building. Laborde

a medresseh and the still existing bath, a many-domed building containing accommodation for both sexes.

The name Balikesri, given to the town by Seaddin in his account of the conquest of Karassi[1], is, as the early maps shew, a corruption of Palaeo-Castro[2], though it is rapidly developing into the quite inappropriate Balukhissar ("Fish-Castle").

From the name, therefore, we should expect an ancient site on the spot, which it would be convenient to identify with Hadrianutherae, but the town, though it naturally acts as a focus for inscribed stones and other portable antiquities, has no ruins to shew.

We have thus no strong case for the identification of Balukiser with Hadrianutherae, but a certain amount of reason to suppose that the Roman town lay somewhere in the neighbourhood—the plain is ill-known and we can point to no definite site with confidence—since

(1) The extent and fertility of the plain are natural reasons for the existence of a large country town in it at all ages: the more so as

(2) This plain is on the natural road between Miletupolis and Pergamon, and an ancient road on the lines of the present *chaussée* was traced by Munro down to the plain.

(3) Besides the evidence of the name we can point to a certain number of inscriptions and worked stones as evidence for the existence of an ancient site in the district.

mentions a peristyle formed of 12 superb columns of granite at the principal mosque (cf. also Pückler-Muskau 395). Another mosque (which Laborde says he drew) is described as an old Arab mosque adorned with several columns and pilasters in white marble. This is possibly the foundation of Lutf-Ullah Bairam, which was also destroyed in the earthquake and rebuilt in the plainest style. Cuinet says that Balukiser boasted before the disaster "91 mosques and mesjids, an old clock-tower much admired, one Imaret, two monumental fountains, 21 medressehs, 6 public baths of Seljuk date and a vaulted bazaar built doubtless about the same period." It has now scarcely an old building of interest.

[1] Tr. Bratutti I. 52 (A.D. 1327): Schihab-ed-din appears to call it indifferently Balikesri or Akhara (='Αχυράους?) *Not. et Extr.* XIII. 339, 353, 365. *Malikesri* and *Akbara* are evidently Arabicisms.

[2] *Policastro* appears at least as early as the map of Gastaldi (c. 1545, published in Sathas, Μνημεῖα III.) and is copied by much later map-makers. Ramsay's conjecture, *Balyk Hissar*, is put out of court by Seaddin and Ibn Batutah who write بالي كسره: this is still, I believe, the official spelling.

(4) Coins of Hadrianutherae, rare elsewhere, are common at Balukiser.

In 1901 Munro found an important Greek site with numerous remains at Beykeui, south-west of Kebsud, a small town on the right bank of the Macestus from which a long series of inscriptions has come: this site he at once identified with Hadrianutherae[1]. In support of the attribution he urges

(1) that the site is much more important than any known in the Balukiser plain:

(2) that, being close under the hills, it is a suitable location for the Royal Chase of Hadrian:

(3) that it is near to Bigaditch which he identifies with Achyraüs (see below):

(4) that it lies on one great route to the Caicus valley.

It is only since a visit to Kebsud and Beykeui that I have ventured to dissent from these conclusions. In answer to the arguments above I submit:

(1) that a series, even a long series, of sepulchral monuments, is not sufficient evidence of the site of a town of Hadrianutherae's importance:

(2) that the hill-country south and west of the plain is, or was, heavily wooded, and the Kaza of Balukiser has more forest land than any other in the Sanjak[2]:

(3) that the site is, as Munro himself held in 1895[3], too far east for the road between Miletupolis and Pergamon, while the modern road down the valley between Kebsud and Susurlu is not passable for wheeled traffic, and the ancient road has been traced to within a few miles of Balukiser. Nor, except on the assumption that Achyraüs=Bigaditch, can I see any evidence that the great road to the south passed by these points.

Kebsud is indeed in a remote position, and communicates, as we have said, only by a very narrow valley with the Balukiser plain.

I continue, therefore, to look for the site of Hadrianutherae in the plain of Balukiser, preferably towards its south-western

[1] *J.H.S.* XXI. 232.

[2] *Consular report on the Vilayet of Brusa* 1897.

[3] p. 165.

corner. Its discovery hangs, so to speak, on the turn of a spade, for the site may lie hidden in some still untilled plot of ground. Tchaoush-keui, near which remains were noted by Fabricius[1], is up to the present too insignificant, and Baïndyr, whence I have a small bronze statuette of Asklepios, seems too far west.

Of the history of Hadrianutherae nothing is known but the story of its foundation by Hadrian after a successful bear-hunt, mentioned by Cedrenus and others[2]. The etymology has been thought to be a popular one: certainly the spellings Ἀδριανουθύρα[3] and Hadrianuteba[4] suggest the termination -teira (as in Temenothyra, Thyateira), but the imperial coinage, which begins with Hadrian himself and continues to Philip, gives consistently Ἀδριανοθηριτῶν. Among its types are the bear's head[5] (commemorating the hunt of Hadrian), and of the gods Zeus, Dionysus, Asklepios, Telesphorus[6], the bull Apis and the "ἀγαθὸς ἥρως" Antinous. From the great prominence given by Aristides to the temple of Zeus Olympius on the neighbouring hill of Atys we may surmise that Hadrian's foundation took the place of an old village centre of the indigenous religion. The gods of this shrine, probably the male divinity of universal powers and his youthful emanation, were possibly first Grecised as Zeus and Dionysus, and later equated indifferently to the Pergamene couple Asklepios and Telesphorus, the Egyptian Serapis and Apis, or the imperial Hadrian and Antinous. The inevitable female third party seems here, as at Poemanenum, to have been of less importance.

In Byzantine times Hadrianutherae was the seat of a bishopric under Cyzicus[7] and was later eclipsed in importance

[1] *Sitzb. Acad. Berl.* 1894, 901 "Zahlreiche Bauglieder aus Trachyt, Säulen, altarförmige Postamente aus Trachyt und Marmor, alles von später, roher Arbeit, auch Stücke eines byzantinischen Flachreliefs mit rohen Thierfiguren aus Marmor."

[2] Cedren. I. 437 B. *Script. Hist. Aug. Hadr.* 20. Xiphil. LXIX. 10. Cedrenus' ἐν τοῖς μιτάτοις (cf. *Theod. Stud. Vita* II.) is explained by Tomaschek as equivalent to *in metatis* (i.e., within the confines of the Royal Chase?). Μιτάτα is used in the Mod. Gr. of Crete as equivalent to Μανδρί (sheepfold) with the same root idea of 'enclosure' (G. Meyer, *Neugr. Studien*).

[3] Conc. Nic. II.

[4] *Tab. Peut.*; cf. Ramsay, *Geog.* 155 and 437.

[5] *N.C.* VI. 91.

[6] *ib.* (the same coin).

[7] Lequien I. 769.

by the neighbouring fort Achyraüs, built by John Comnenus[1] to guard the important southern roads. Consequently the bishops, as at Lopadium and elsewhere, took the double title[2], or even the later one alone[3].

Achyraüs.

The name of the fort is very variously spelt, which suggests that it was not Greek in origin. Most usually called ἡ Ἀχυράους[4], it is Grecised to ἡ Ὀχυρὰ[5], αἱ Ὀχυραὶ[6], while the crusaders call it Esseron[7] or Sycheron[8], and the valley in which it stood Vallis Ascaratana[9]. Theodore Studites mentions it in the 9th century as κώμη Ἀχειράω[10].

The name was evidently given to the district, which was apparently distinct from the Opsician theme. It is called Provincia Acherau in the *Privilegium Alexii* 1199[11], and Provincia Acherari in the *Partitio Romaniae*[12].

In the treaty of Theodore and the Latins it is the frontier of the latter party, and Calamus (Gelembe) is neutral ground[13].

The castle of Hodja Kalesi agrees well with what we know of Achyraüs: it stands about 2½ miles S.S.E. of the village of Eftele on a high grassy spur bounded on three sides by the right bank of the stream of Hodja-déré, which two hours and a half lower down passes the village of Mendoura. The spur slopes steeply enough even on its landward (S.) side and affords an ideal site for a castle. The site enclosed by the walls is an irregular trapezium, the extreme length perhaps 200 metres: the walls are best preserved on the landward side, where the two massive semicircular towers which flanked the entrance

[1] Nic. Chon. 44 B.

[2] *Notit.* X., XIII. and two unpublished, quoted by Ramsay, *Geog.* 155.

[3] *Act. Patr. Const.* I. 119 (1256). Notit. III.

[4] Acrop. 30, Pachy. II. 423 and Notitiae (XIII. has Ἀχυραουένως), Cantac. III. 29; cf. Theod. Scutar. XI. τοῦ κάστρου τῶν Ὀχυρῶν δ καὶ Ἀχυράους παρά τισι λέγεται: the ethnic is Ἀχυραΐτης in Cantac. II. 180.

[5] Eph. 7750.

[6] Nicet. 44 B. Ephr. 7421, 7512, 7991.

[7] Odo de Diogilo, p. 250 (Guizot). [8] Ansbert.

[9] Cf. Sagara in Hierocles and Ἀσκαρηνός, an Anatolian ethnic in *P.A.S.* III. p. 271. Kiepert identifies the plain with the Apia Campus of Polyb. V. 77.

[10] *Vita* CVI. (Migne).

[11] Tafel and Thomas LXXXV. i. p. 246 ff.

[12] *ib.* CXXI. i. p. 453 ff. Cf. the Episcepseis of Apollonia and Lopadium.

[13] Acrop. 30; cf. Eph. 7750.

stand six or seven metres high; they are solidly built of rubble and tile, the latter inserted both perpendicularly and horizontally in the joints. Portions of two other towers survive on this side: the river walls have all but disappeared.

On the low ground beneath the castle a roofless eleven-sided *tekke* carefully built of squared stones shews that the site was not deserted in early Turkish times, while the proximity of the village Eftele (Pteleae?) is in itself strong evidence for the identification of the castle with the Byzantine fortress of Achyraüs[1]. It is indeed the only Byzantine building in the district worthy to rank with Eski Manyas and Ulubad as a first-class fortress.

The only other claimant for the site is the important mediaeval castle of Bigaditch[2]: this stands above the small town of the same name[3] on the right bank of the upper Macestus and is described by Hamilton as a "circular wall enclosing about two acres, strengthened by several square and round towers of no great antiquity." This identification will hardly stand after the discovery of a castle so much nearer the great road and Balukiser as Hodja Kalesi.

The mountain near Achyraüs was called Cyminas or Ciminas[4], and is mentioned with Olympus as a haunt of monks[5]: it is probably to be identified with Sivri-tepe which is a conspicuous peak from the site of the castle. Munro found a rock-cut hermit's cell at Persi near by, and the monastery τῶν Λάκκων[6], whose abbot was present at the second Council of Nicaea, may have been one of the religious houses of the district.

[1] See below, p. 133. [2] Munro 171; cf. Hamilton II. 116.

[3] Bigaditch is a *kaza* of Balukiser with a population of nearly 4000 almost entirely Turkish. Its chief industries are tanning, opium and cotton.

[4] ...[Κιμινᾶ], οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ὄρος καλεῖται τὸ ἐγγὺς τῆς Ἀχυράους τύγχανον Acr. XV. =p. 30 B. (cf. Ephr. 7751). It is there mentioned as the boundary of the Latins. The identification was first made by Munro.

[5] Theoph. *Contin.* 419 B. Genes. 82. *Acta SS.*, July 5=p. 247; cf. Ξηρόλοφος in *Theod. Studitae Vita* CII. Migne. L. Petit in *Anal. Boll.* XXV. 18 (*note*) identifies Cyminas with Dikmendagh in Paphlagonia, referring to his *Vie de Michel Maleinos*, p. 51, note 11, which I have not been able to consult, but (without rejecting Acropolita absolutely) it seems a difficult theory to substantiate.

[6] Mansi XIII. 151; cf. τόπος τοῦ Λάκκου in *Theod. Studitae Vita* CII. Migne, Ξηρολίμνη in *Vita Mich. Maleini.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE LOWER GRANICUS PLAIN.

Adrasteia.

THE considerable plain through which the Granicus flows is capable of supporting a large population. It was occupied in Homeric times by the city of Adrasteia, from which it took its name[1]. Apollonius[2] identifies it with the *πέδιον Νηπηΐον* which others apparently associated with Olympus, king of the Mysians and presumably of Mysia Olympene: this second name (*νηπηΐον*) was evidently connected with a local legend of the birth and infancy of Zeus.

The city was said to take its name from Adrastus, son of Merops of Percote[3]: who first established here the worship of the goddess Adrastea[4]: the marriage of his daughter Cleite to the hero Cyzicus is evidently an attempt, aided by the existence of a cult of Adrastea at Cyzicus, to bring Cyzicene legend into line with the Homeric cycle[5].

The city had decayed in Strabo's time, and its ancient oracular shrine of Apollo Actaeus and Artemis *κατὰ τὴν Πυκάτην*[6](?) removed to Parium. Other towns in the plain were

[1] Str. 587, 588. Its situation between Priapus and Parium (cf. Steph. Byz.) may be understood if we suppose the road to avoid the coast here.

[2] I. 1116 and Schol. See also Part III.

[3] Hom. *Il.* II. 828

Οἱ δὲ Ἀδρήστειάν τ' εἶχον καὶ δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ,
Καὶ Πιτύειαν ἔχον καὶ Τηρείης ὄρος αἰπὺ,
Τῶν ἦρχ' Ἄδρηστός τε καὶ Ἄμφιος λινοθώρηξ,
Υἷε δύω Μέροπος Περκωσίου....

[4] Antimachus ap. Str. 588 *παρὰ ῥόον Αἰσήποιο.*

[5] Another version (Steph. Byz. s.v.) derived the name from Adrasteia, daughter of Melisseus. Stephanus mentions a village Melissa in the Cyzicene territory.

[6] p. 588 v.l. *Πακτύην.*

Sidene[1] on the Granicus of which we know no more than that it was destroyed by Croesus, and Didymateiche, whose name may be preserved in the modern Dimetoka, on the eastern tributary of the Granicus: it is only mentioned as a humble member of the Delian league.

From these slight records we may surmise that Adrasteia and Sidene were the political centres of the district in the Homeric and Lydian periods respectively: this centre shifted naturally in Greek, Roman and mediaeval times to the coast (Priapus, Pegae), and has now, under the Turkish occupation, reverted once more to the plain.

Bighashehr.

Bighashehr ("Boghazshehr" = "city of the gorge" by popular etymology and the well-known partiality of the Turks for broad vowels) is the modern centre of this district. It is prettily situated at the opening of the valley of the Bigha-Chai but has suffered much of late years from fire. The quarter about the bridge is still picturesque, especially when viewed from the grassy space on the further side where the camel trains are pastured and the yearly fair is held. The population is assessed at 8395 Mohammedans, 1445 Greeks, 160 Armenians: there seems to be a large Bulgarian (Pomak) element both in the town and its neighbourhood and the plain is being gradually filled by immigrants. The town, once the capital of the important Sanjak now governed from the Dardanelles[2], is at present the seat of a Kaimakam. It is connected with the port of Karabogha by a newly-built road and by horse-tracks through Avunia and Tchanbazar with Adramyt. At Tchanbazar a yearly fair is held of which Cuinet[3] gives the following account:

"The number of persons who frequent this fair is estimated at 20—25,000. They flock to it in picturesque caravans protected by the local gendarmerie; man and beast camp in the open air, while the dealers in stuffs, embroideries, colonial products, etc., take their places under great sheds run up for the

[1] Str. 587, 601. Marquardt, p. 81, gives it Lydian origin on the strength of the name. Steph. Byz. mentions a Σιδήνη in Lydia.

[2] "Bigha Sanjak" may be the explanation of the name *Becsangil*, *Becsangial* given by the 16th—17th century cartographers to the country west of the Macestus.

[3] III. 754.

purpose, and divided into small compartments. The money which changes hands at this fair amounts to a very considerable sum: the chief merchandise consists in cattle, copper kitchen utensils, stuffs of all sorts, and the rich Turkish costumes which are made and embroidered at Bigha and Brusa. The sellers come chiefly from the Dardanelles, Rhodosto, Brusa, and even Smyrna. After the third day the fair at Tchan is removed to Bigha...where it goes on for six days."

If, as is possible, Bighashehr is on the site of Adrasteia or Sidene, ancient monuments are surprisingly few and ruins non-existent.

The history of the town is obscure: it seems to have existed beside the maritime settlement of Pegae and to have borne the same name[1], of which the modern one is a corruption: von Hammer mentions it as the administrative centre of Karassi under Suleiman, son of Orkhan[2].

The plain was in Strabo's time divided between Cyzicus, Priapus and Parium. On the marches of the Cyzicene and Priapene territory stood the village of Harpagia[3], associated with the legend of the rape of Ganymede[4].

Priapus.

Priapus, a colony either of the Milesians or the Cyzicenes[5], occupied the low promontory of Eski Kaleh Burnu just west of the mouth of the Granicus. The shape of this promontory, Judeich has suggested[6], perhaps accounts for the dedication of the colony to the rude nature-god of Lampsacus[7]. This god, a son of Dionysus by Aphrodite or the nymph Chione (or even, as some authorities held, a form of Dionysus himself), was intimately connected with the culture of

[1] Tomaschek (p. 14) "Uzzano spricht deutlich von einer città di Spigua am Meere, ebenso Pachymeres von der *παραθαλασσία πόλις* Πηγαί neben einer zweiten mehr inländischen Stadt gleichen Namens" [i.e. the "Spigast" of Barbarossa's expedition].

[2] I. 135.

[3] Thuc. VIII. 107. Str. 587. Steph. Byz. Hellespontine tribute lists.

[4] Cf. Suidas, s.v. *Μίνως*, Athen. XIII. 601.

[5] Str. 587.

[6] *Sitzb. Berl. Acad.* 1898, II. 551.

[7] For the god Priapus see Preller-Robert 735. Cf. 323, note 2. Athen. I. 54. Schol. Theocr. I. 21. Arrian frag. 32. Str. 587. Sch. Ap. Rh. I. 932. *B.C.H.* I. 409 (relief from Gallipoli).

the vine, for which the surrounding country is peculiarly adapted[1], and had all the naïvely gross characteristics of a rustic god unacquainted with city refinements.

Of the town's history we know little or nothing; it appears in the Delian tribute lists as one of the Hellespontine allies of Athens, but never rose to any importance, being over-shadowed by Parium; the latter encroached on its territory with the connivance of the Attalids, to whom Priapus fell with the rest of Hellespontine Phrygia[2]. Two Latin inscriptions found near Karabogha[3], mentioning Hadrian as "founder of the colony," have suggested that Parium and Priapus together formed the "colonia Gemella" whose coins are so frequent in the Cyzicus district. In support of this theory it is worthy of note that, while a number of inconsiderable towns in the district possessed mints in the second and third centuries A.D., imperial coins of Priapus depend on the dubious evidence of Vaillant: and that Priapus and Parium were later joined in a bishopric.

In the neighbourhood of Priapus Stephanus mentions a place Ἴγνη of which nothing further is known.

Pegae.

In the later middle age the site was occupied by the Italian trading station[4] of Pegae, which the chroniclers of Barbarossa's march mention already in 1190 as "(Spigast)[5] civitas Latinis inhabitata[6]." In 1204 Nicetas[7] describes it as a "city of the Hellespontine Latins," and Villehardouin[8] likewise "Espigal, une cité qui sor mer siet et ére poplée de Latins." It played an important part in the history of the Frankish empire "beyond the arm of S. George[9]," remained the

[1] Str. 587. [2] Str. 588. [3] Inscrr. III. 10, 11.

[4] Hierocles has Πη[γαι](?) after Baris.

[5] I.e. Εἰς Πηγὰς like Isnik, Ismid.

[6] Cf. the license to trade granted by Manuel Comnenus to the Genoese in 1178 (Sauli, *Della colonia dei Genovesi* II. 188 (14)) and the concession of Michael Palaeologus to the Venetians (1265) which mentions Pegae (*Sber. Bayr. Akad. Phil. Hist. Cl.* 1850, pp. 180, 203), and for the whole subject Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, and the documents in Tafel and Thomas.

[7] p. 13. [8] 180, Ducange; cf. G. Pachy. II. 415 παραθαλασσία πόλις Πηγαί.

[9] A titular (?) *Sire de las Pigas* (1261) is mentioned in the *Chronique de Morée* (p. 31 in *Panthéon Littéraire*), and in the *Familles d'Outremer* (p. 545, Rey): a Latin bishop, P. Gasparo Gasparini di Spiga, was buried in S. Francisco at Galata (de Burgo, p. 350).

seat of a Byzantine bishopric together with Parium[1] as late as the fourteenth century, and was one of the last Greek strongholds in Asia to fall. Even after the conquest by the Turks it was still an important Italian trading station[2].

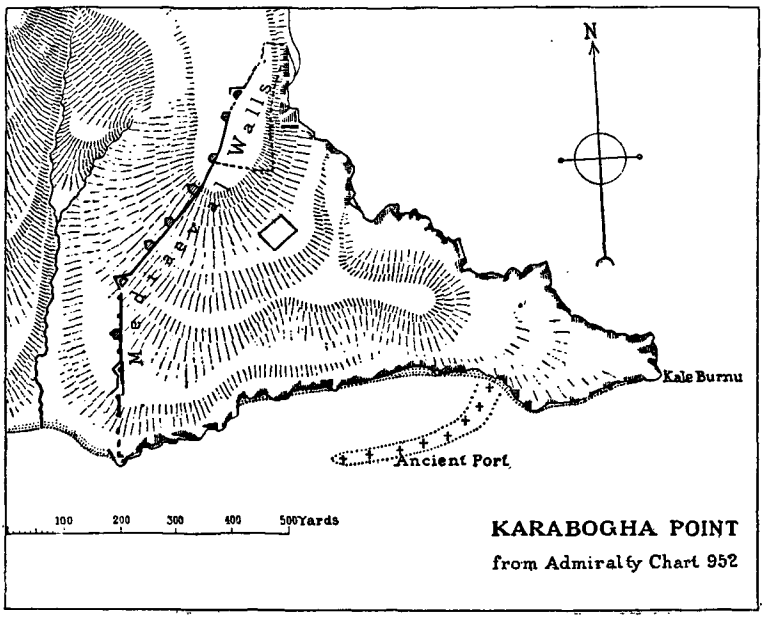


FIG. 9. SITE OF PEGAE: SKETCH PLAN.

To-day its successor, Karabogha, on the shore below the headland is without importance save as the landing-place for Bighashehr. It is served by a steamer from Constantinople twice a week. On the site of the ancient city are considerable remains of mediaeval walls extending all round the headland[3]. The wall and towers on the landward side are still in fair preservation and form a conspicuous sea-mark. They are built on the slight slope of a depression severing the peninsula from the

[1] The bishopric of *Pegae and Parium* is first mentioned in 1316 (*Act. Patr.* I. lxvii.). It was *in partibus* apparently after 1324 (*ibid.* I. civ.) when the signature is Πηγῶν καὶ Παρίου καὶ πρόεδρος Γάνου: cf. Lambros on the Archbishopric of Lopadium.

[2] Cf. Uzzano and the *Portolani*.

[3] Cf. Von Richter, p. 425 ff. and the account of the taking of the Acropolis by John de Brienne (Acrop. XXX.).

continent: the slope seems to have been increased by artificial embankment. The best preserved towers are at the northern end of the fortification which is the highest point of the defended area. These towers are pentagonal (four sides projecting from

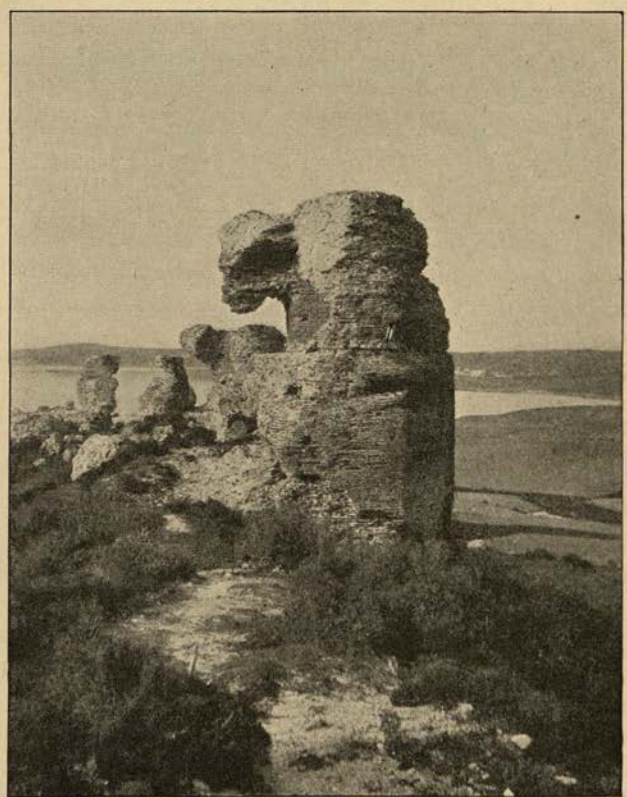


FIG. 10. TOWER AT KARABOGHA.

the curtain) and built entirely of tile: the interior plan is round, the upper storey domed and the lower strengthened by additional thickness added from within: angular breastworks of rubble give additional stability to the bases of the towers. The wall was of rubble and seems to have been restored in Turkish times. Within the fortifications are traces of a cross-wall cutting off the high north-western corner, and several large cisterns.

CHAPTER X.

THE AESEPUS PLAIN.

Zeleia.

ON one of the outlying spurs of Ida—the range here extends to the barrier of coast hills, through which the Aesepus forces its way to the sea—stood Zeleia, the furthest outpost in this direction of the Trojan civilisation, and characteristically remote from the sea. The site is identified by Strabo's[1] accurate "190 stades from Cyzicus and about 80 from the nearest sea" with the large but squalid village of Sarikeui on a western affluent of the Aesepus, a couple of hours below Gunen: it is inhabited largely by Rumelian immigrants, only forty of its thousand families being Greek. A small conical hill above the village may represent the Homeric acropolis.

Sarikeui.

Zeleia.

The name (Ζέλεια, Ζέλη[2]) is variously derived by the ancients from a hero Zelys or Zeleius[3] or from ζῆλος[4]. The hero Zelys is mentioned[5] in the Argonaut myth and probably belongs to the genus of Hellenistic fictions, if he does not represent the original sun-god of the town[6].

The foundation of the town is attributed by the Scholiast on *Il.* IV. 90 to Carnabas the Perrhaebian, who fled to the Troad and settled down under Tros at Zeleia[7]: the people are called

[1] 586.

[2] St. Byz. s.vv. Ζέλεια, Ἀγάμμεια. The ethnic is Ζελείτης in App. I. 17. Inscr. V. 20 A. *C.I.A.* III. 2893 etc. Ζελειάτης in the tribute lists. The name Zelys occurs in Polyb. V. 79; cf. also the Thracian town-name Selymbria.

[3] *Etym. Mag.*, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ζέλεια.

[4] *Etym. Mag.* διὰ τὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἐν αὐτῷ λίαν εὐσεβεῖσθαι. Schol. ad *Il.* IV. 103 has διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα etc.

[5] Ap. Rh. I. 1042 and the account of Valerius Flaccus.

[6] Cf. Σέλας Σελήνη; Marquardt considers the word Lydian.

[7] (Bekker, p. 124) φυγὼν εἰς Βρένθιν τῆς Τροίας καθαρθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Τρῳός, λαβὼν ἔδαφος κτίζει Ζέλειαν τὴν μικρὰν Λυκίαν.

82522

Trojans[1] and the town, lying west of the Aesepus, was reckoned to the Troad. The inhabitants fought in the Trojan war[2] under Pandarus, son of Lycaon, a "Lycian" (the territory of Zeleia was called Little Lycia[3]) who was evidently a native of the place, on good terms with his god or ancestor[4].

At Zeleia, Apollo had an oracle, renowned in its day[5], which had, however, ceased to work in Strabo's time[6]. The god was worshipped as Pythius and probably associated with Artemis[7]. There is evidence that the ancient shrine was by some authors made to figure in the legend of the Argonauts: the version preserved by Malalas[8] makes Jason enquire at the Pythia Therma as to the dedication of the newly-made temple, while Valerius Flaccus makes the Aesepus the scene of the purificatory rites. Pythia Therma to a Byzantine meant the hot springs at Yalova in Bithynia[9], but the Zeleian Apollo-oracle makes the name equally applicable to the *thermae* of Gunen, which were within easy reach of Cyzicus. It seems probable that the shrine of Apollo was at the hot springs of Gunen, where Artemis Thermaia was, in Aristides' day, the presiding deity. She is already in the fourth century inscription the goddess by whom the public oath is taken, and a head crowned with a low polos, apparently representing an oriental Artemis, not radically dissimilar from the Magna Mater, appears on the autonomous coins.

Of the history of Zeleia little is known. Though, unlike most

[1] *Il.* II. 827 and Schol.; Steph. Byz. [2] *Il.* II. 827.

[3] Schol. ad *Il.* IV. 90 (quoted above); *ib.* 103 ἡ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἴδῃ Λυκία τὸ παλαιὸν Ζέλεια ἐκαλεῖτο = Arrh. frag. 68. Eustath. *ad loc. cit.* explains Λυκηγενὴς as = Λύκιος: cf. also Plut. *de Mul. Virt.* 9 ἐκ τῆς περὶ Ζ. ἀποικίας Λυκίων.

[4] *Il.* II. 827 Πάνδαρος ᾧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν.

[5] Tzetz. *Lyc.* 315. Sch. ad *Il.* IV. 101, 103 ἀψευδέστατον ἱερόν.

[6] Str. 588. [7] Inscr. I. 16.

[8] IV. 94. Cf. Joh. Ant. frag. 15. Cedren. 119.

[9] So Makris in Τὸ Κατιρλί followed by Gedeon in Λίθοι καὶ Κεράμια. Ramsay (*Hist. Geog.* p. 180) confuses the Βασιλικὰ Θερμὰ of Brusa with the Pythia: curiously Prusa is identified with Zeleia by Niger, cf. Ortelius s.v. Prusa "Zelliam olim appellatam tradit Marinus Niger" (*Geog. Comment.* 1557, p. 417 Prusias quae et Zelia dicta est, but cf. Zelia Propontis, pp. 423 and 427). Cf. also the note in Mercator's *Ptolemy*. The mistake may arise from a confusion with Zielas, father of the founder of Prusias ad Hypium.

inland towns, it became a member of the Delian confederacy, we have no record of the liberation from the Persian yoke; the town is mentioned as the headquarters of the satraps before the battle of the Granicus, and as having under compulsion assisted the Persian army[1]. A native tyrant, Nicagoras[2], is said to have ruled Zeleia, "about the time of Alexander," and a Zeleian inscription, dating from the middle of the fourth century, refers to the seizure of the acropolis by the citizens. The brief accounts of Alexander's relations with the town after Granicus do not mention or imply a tyrant in 334; such petty tyrannies sort better with Persian methods of government than with those of the Diadochi, so that we may place Nicagoras about 350 B.C. In the Hellenistic period Zeleia must have fallen under the sway of its powerful neighbour; Zelys appears amongst the Cyzicene heroes in Apollonius, and the town is mentioned as an outpost of Cyzicus by Diogenes[3]. A Hellenistic boundary-stone marking the limit of Cyzicene territory in the hills west of Gunen has been published by Dr Wiegand[4], and Strabo speaks of Zeleia itself as Cyzicene in his day[5]: its ancient frontiers extended to the Tarsius[6] and the hills about Caresene, a ruined city in the upper valley of that river[7].

Gunen.

The modern centre of the lower Aesepus valley is Gunen, a small town and kaimakamlik inhabited by a mixed population estimated at about 5400[8]. The Greek community has a modern church dedicated to S. George: the old Turkish mosque and bath are simple but picturesque buildings.

Gunen is to-day chiefly important for its hot springs, which attract visitors from so far away as Constantinople in the summer months. The modern bath is situated just outside the town, on the right bank of the river, a few yards above the ruins of the ancient Thermae, which have been largely carried away by the stream: remains of walls, pavements and water pipes are,

[1] App. I. 17. [2] Athen. 289 B. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 4. 54.

[3] Ap. St. Byz. [4] Inscr. VI. 6.

[5] 583; cf. 576 where *τὰ πέραν τοῦ Αἰσήπου, τὰ περὶ τὴν Ζέλειαν* are Cyzicene.

[6] Str. 587. [7] *ib.* 603.

[8] Cuinet gives the figures at 4690 M. and 680 G. The Greek community is said to number 140 families, and there are a few Armenians.

however, visible. The waters have an unpleasantly sulphurous smell and are extremely hot. A certain amount of traffic passes through the place to Panderma and Balia: between Gunen and Balia there is no road for vehicles. The river, here spanned by a rickety wooden bridge, is a swift stream with a stony bed which permits of its being forded in the summer months.

Turkish history mentions the town only in connection with the rebellion of Kalenderoghlu[1]; it was defended in mediaeval times by the fort called Baba Kalessi, which crowns a low height on the left bank of the river. Another strong but somewhat isolated fortress (Chinar Bunar-Kale) lies in a nook of the mountains two and a half hours west-south-west of Gunen. It is described and planned by Wiegand[2].

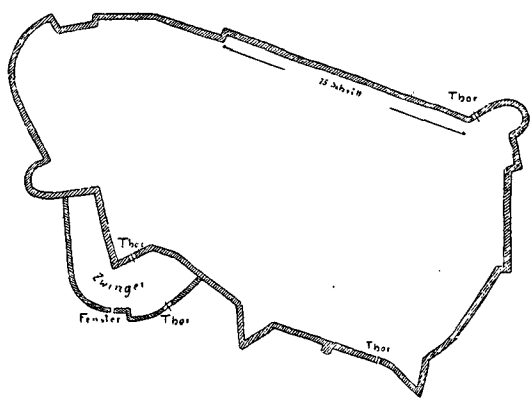


FIG. 11. SKETCH PLAN OF CHINAR BUNAR-KALE (WIEGAND).

The great commercial event of the year at Gunen is the horse-fair which takes place in the broad valley of Elbislik on the 10th—13th of June[3]. On the opposite (south) side of the

[1] 1611. Naima 348.

[2] *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 338.

[3] This fair has also a religious aspect, and (though reputed to have been founded by a Turk, and called the Hadji) is associated with S. Nicholas, to whom belong a ruined church and ayasma in the neighbourhood of the Circassian village where it is held. Chishull, p. 59, speaks of a fair ten days long at George-tide much frequented.

valley is the large Greek village of Elbislik with its "monastery" (a mere hut) of S. Michael.

The baths of Gunen were evidently the objective of Aristides' journey in search of health[1], but he gives us no hint as to the name of the village or town which must have existed there, if only for the accommodation of patients: he refers merely to the baths of Artemis Thermaia on the Aesepus.

More than one ancient town has been put forward as a claimant for the site, none by any means certain as yet.

Ramsay[2] confidently identifies Gunen with the Artemea of Hierocles on the evidence of the Life of S. Philetaerus. This seems rash on account of the wide diffusion of the cult as evidenced by the Life itself, and the uncertainty as to the exact route taken by the saint[3].

Kiepert[4] in some maps places Poemanenum on this site, on the strength of the inscription mentioning *μυσταὶ Πημανηνῶν* (?) above alluded to[5].

A fair case might also be made out for Hiera Germe, which is placed by Ptolemy between Cyzicus and Scepsis[6] and by Stephanus near Cyzicus[7], more especially if as Kiepert holds the name Germae is the Phrygian equivalent of *Thermae*[8]: and the name Gunen may be a corruption of *Γερμηνόν*.

The most likely claimant, if not to the site, at least to the general position and importance of Gunen, seems to me the elusive town and bishopric[9] of Baris[10], on which some fresh

[1] *Sacr. Serm.* IV. 502—3, Dind.

[2] *St Paul the Traveller*, p. 197; *Hist. Geog.* 155.

[3] See above, p. 49.

[4] *Formae Orbis Ant.* IX. (note).

[5] p. 120.

[6] V. 2, 14.

[7] s.v. *Γερμαί*.

[8] See *Formae Orbis Ant.* IX. (note), and the episcopal signature *Θερμανῶν* in Lequien I. 768. Kiepert, having identified Gunen with Poemanenum, identifies Germe with Ilidja conjecturally: the old identification of Germe with Kermasti is based only upon the resemblance of the names. Beyond its approximate position nothing is known of the Hellespontine Germe. The coins with *Γερμηνῶν* are now assigned by Imhoof (*Lyd. Stadtm.* p. 66) to the Lydian Germe on the Caicus, and with it, probably, should be identified the bishopric of *Γερμαί* (Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 11; Notitiae etc.). The Germian mountains of Anna Comnena XVI. are probably the hills south of Olympus and north of the Turkish province of Germian.

[9] Lequien I. 769 and Notitiae.

[10] The name seems to have signified a house or settlement in some Thracian-Pelasgian dialect; cf. *Etym. Mag.* s.v. *Βάρις λέγεται ἡ οἰκία κατὰ Μεσσαπίους*: Steph.

light has been thrown by the Milesian inscription published by Haussoullier.

Our meagre notices of Baris are derived from the following sources, arranged chronologically :—

(1) The Milesian inscription recording the delimitation of the estate of Laodice wife of Antiochus II. (253 B.C.)[1].

Dr Wiegand's reading of the boundaries as referring to a district west, not east, of the Aesepus must be accepted in view of the newly discovered Cyzicene boundary-stone: but the positions of the villages and even the roads must still be regarded as hypothetical. The text of the inscription relating to the boundaries runs as follows :—

(ἔδει περιορισθῆναι) ἀπὸ μὲν ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ζελείτιδος χώρας τῆς μὲν πρὸς τὴν Κυζικηνικὴν ὁδὸς βασιλικὴ ἡ ἀρχαία ἡ ἄγουσα ἐπὶ Πάνυου κώμης ἐπάνω τῆς κώμης καὶ τῆς Βάρεως..... ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς βωμὸν τὸν ὄντα ἐπάνω τῆς Βάρεως καὶ ὡς ὁ τάφος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τάφου αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλικὴ ἄγουσα διὰ τῆς Εὐπαννήσης ἕως ποταμοῦ τοῦ Αἰσήπου.

From another passage in the inscription it appears that Baris and Pannukome were included in the estate.

(2) Possibly, the inscription from Brusa[2] relating to a defeat of Mithradates κατὰ τὴν Βάριν. The Cyzicenes certainly harried the king's army in retreat towards Lampsacus at the crossings of the Aesepus and Granicus[3].

(3) The subscription of the *Athena* of Aristides: Ἀρισ-[τείδου] Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Βάρει ἐπὶ Σευήρου ἡγέμονος ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντος λε΄ καὶ μηνός. This Keil[4] finds to be contemporary with Aristides' sojourn at the temple of Zeus—consequently therefore with his journey to the Aesepus springs.

Byz. s.v. ἡ οἰκία ὡς Ποσειδιππος καὶ ἡ συνοικία ὡς Ἔφορος: Hesych. πλοῖον ἢ τοῖχος ἢ στοὰ ἢ πύργοι: also Dumont, *Inscrr. de Thrac.* 459 (III, 7d) ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τρίπυλον καὶ τὴν βάριν: and Boisonnade, *Anecd.* V. 14. It was the name of a town in Pisidia and of a village in Astypalaia, *Inscrr. Mar. Aeg.* III. 181.

[1] Haussoullier in *Rev. de Philol.* 1901, pp. 5 ff.; Wiegand in *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX.

[2] *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* VII. 170 etc.; see list of inscriptions, p. 302.

[3] Memnon ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 233 (Bekker) διωξὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Αἴσηπον ποταμὸν...φόνον πολὺν τῶν πολεμίων ποιεῖ: cf. Florus I. 40 ut Granicus et Aesepus cruenti redderentur.

[4] *Revue de Philol.* 1901, 123—4.

(4) Hierocles' list of cities, which places Baris between Cyzicus and Parium[1].

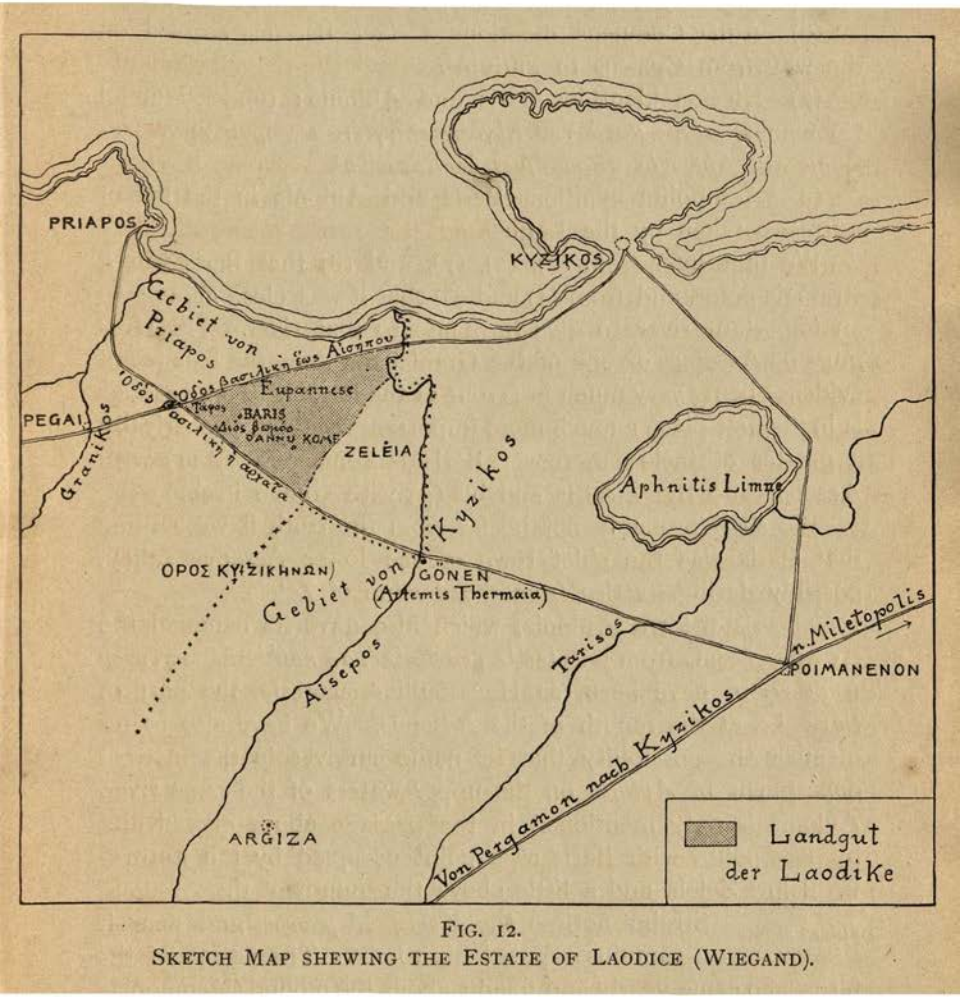


FIG. 12.
SKETCH MAP SHEWING THE ESTATE OF LAODICE (WIEGAND).

[1] Ramsay therefore places Baris on the site of Priapus, where the mediaeval Pegae stood. He regards the reading of the MSS. ΒΑΡΙΣΠΗΠΑΡΙΟΝ as due to dittography, but possibly ΒΑΡΙΣΠΗΓΑΙΠΑΡΙΟΝ should be read, which would have the advantage of giving a town each to the plains of Aesepus and Granicus. Wesseling emends ΒΑΡΙΣ[ΑΡΙΣ]ΠΗ ΠΑΡΙΟΝ, but Arisbe was near Abydos (Str. 635. *Vita S. Parthenii* Feb. 7, p. 40).

(5) Probably Theophanes' *Banes*, *Darenus* in the account of the defeat of the Byzantines by the Arabs in 774[1] should be read (as Ramsay suggests[2]) *Baris*, *Barenus*.

(6) Anna Comnena mentions a river Barenus crossed on the way from Cyzicus to Parium[3].

(7) Nicetas identifies Baris and Aulonia: (under Manuel Comnenus) *πόλις κατὰ τὴν Αἰγαιοπελαγείτων χώραν τειχίζεται Βάρις καὶ Αὐλωνία παρωνύμως ὀνομασμένη*[4].

(8) Acropolita mentions Baris and Aulonia in the list of fortresses taken by the Latins[5].

We thus infer from (2), (5), (7), and (8) that Baris was a strategic point, and from (4) and (6) that it was close enough to an important river to give its name to that river. The river must be Aesepus or one of the Granicus system, the balance of evidence being very much in favour of the former. The Aesepus is in the first place a much more important river and strategically a greater obstacle: moreover Baris is connected by (1) with Aesepus and the Zeleitis and by (3) with Gunen itself.

We shall probably not be far from the truth if we assume that Baris was the chief town of the lower Aesepus valley, possibly dating its rise from the decline of Zeleia.

The sister-town Aulonia, which also gave its name to the Aesepus, seems from Nicetas'[6] *προσωκείλει τῇ καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον Αὐλωνίᾳ* to have been, as Haussoullier suggests, the port of Baris, i.e. at the mouth of the Aesepus. We have also to remember the possibility that its name survives in the modern department of *Avunia* on the upper waters of the same river. Aulonia is only mentioned in the passage above quoted and by Acropolita with Baris as a point occupied by the Latins[7].

Below Zeleia and a little above the mouth of the Aesepus, Strabo notices the Κώμη Μέμνονος, and near it a tumulus reputed his tomb[8]. The legend of the birds who came yearly and fought about the mound (Memnoniae

Village of Memnon.

[1] 706 B. [2] *Hist. Geog.* 159.
[3] XIV. 5. [4] 121 B. [5] 13 B.
[6] 711 B. [7] 13 B.
[8] p. 587 *Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Αἰσήπου σχεδόν τι...σταδίοις κολωνὸς ἔστιν, ἐφ' ᾧ τάφος δείκνυται Μέμνονος τοῦ Τιθωνοῦ, πλησίον δ' ἔστι καὶ ἡ Μέμνονος κώμη.*

aves) is quoted by many mythological authors[1]. There is an apparently artificial tumulus on the left bank of the river opposite the Roman bridge which may mark the site of the village.

[1] Q. Smyrn. IV. 642; Aelian, *N.A.* v. i.; Paus. X. 31. 6 and Frazer's note; Isid. *Origg.* XII. 7, 30; Plin. *N.H.* X. 37; Ov. *Met.* XIII. 376 ff. See also R. Holland, *Heroenvögel in der gr. Mythologie*, pp. 1—5.

CHAPTER XI.

THE UPPER AESEPUS VALLEY.

Upper Aesepus valley.

THE upper valley of the Aesepus, chiefly comprised in the modern department of Avunia, is ill known and historically of no great importance. Its remote position evidently retarded its development, though its fertility allowed a large village population[1]. Our only ancient authority on the district is Demetrius of Scepsis, whose Homeric learning, if we may judge from the excerpts from his work which have come down to us, rendered both obscure and unreliable what might else have been a valuable contribution to the history of his own country. Strabo[2] quotes Demetrius at length on the Ida district: in this account the following points are mentioned:

(*a*) On the west bank of the Aesepus:

(1) Polichna, a "walled village," also mentioned by Pliny as belonging to the *conventus* of Adramyttium and by Hierocles.

(2) Palaescepsis, identified by Kiepert with the existing ruins of Assar-Kale. Of these ruins Mordtmann has published a plan and description[3], from which I quote the following:

"The hill-top is levelled, and certainly by all appearances artificially: the plateau preserves the remains of an ancient town and acropolis, with walls, towers, aqueducts etc. The walls are constructed of squared blocks; one of the largest was 0·80 cm. long and 0·50 cm. broad. The wall of the acropolis is six feet thick, that of the town three: it is constructed of black porphyry which is the material of the whole hill. An

[1] Demetrius describes the region (Caresene) as *ὀρεινὴ, πολλαῖς κώμαις συνοικουμένη, καὶ γεωργουμένη καλῶς* (ap. Str. 602).

[2] p. 603.

[3] *Ausland*, 1851, 853, with plan in *Rev. Arch.* 1854, 767—70.

oak-tree, the circumference of whose trunk was 5·30 cm., had grown out of the wall: this may serve as proof of the long period during which the town has lain deserted. The whole arrangement of the walls testifies to their extreme antiquity. The towers, which are irregularly spaced, are placed at all four gates on the right of the entrance... By the southern gate can still be seen the pipes in the wall which doubtless served as an aqueduct. Outside the walls on the north, a little below the level of the town, is a quadrangular space which probably held a temple or place of sacrifice; of which however nothing more is visible."

He refers them to a very early date, and it was doubtless on the ground of his description that Kiepert accepted the identification. Wiegand, however, assigns the remains to the Byzantine period: "the reputed Palaescepsis above Kuyun Eli is a great strong Byzantine castle (about 150 × 50 m.) with rubble walls about 1½ m. thick, faced outside with squared trachyte blocks. Two entrances and some cisterns and towers may be made out. Hill and castle are now overgrown with thick oak scrub. The fortification Assar, right above the Aesepus by Tschirpilar, which has been taken for Scepsis, is also Byzantine but more insignificant. The hill is bare and level, about 300 × 150 m., and was surrounded by a wall, apparently without towers, which has now almost entirely fallen."

The question of Scepsis and Palaescepsis is difficult, since Strabo places them 30 stades apart in the upper Aesepus valley, while Judeich, on excellent independent evidence backed by an inscription, finds Scepsis at Kurshunlu Tepe in the Scamander valley. Strabo himself is not consistent since in another place[1] he locates Palaescepsis 60 *stades above Scepsis, above Kebren* (and therefore in the Scamander valley), *and about the highest point of Ida.* Both sites however are said to be near Polichna. For the history and full discussion of Scepsis we may refer to Judeich's article in Kiepert's *Festschrift*, which seems quite conclusive in favour of Kurshunlu Tepe.

(3) Karesus on or near a river of the same name which we

[1] p. 606 ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν Παλαίσκηψις ἐπάνω Κεβρῆνος κατὰ τὸ μετεωρότατον τῆς Ἴδης ἐγγὺς Πολίχνης...ὕστερον κατωτέρω σταδίοις ἑξήκοντα εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκῆψιν μετωκίσθησαν.

can with some show of probability identify with the western tributary of the Aesepus, though Demetrius' ideas of its source are vague. The village names Upper and Lower *Karasu* (for which no physical explanation is apparent) near the junction of the streams are suggestive as, in connection with Eustathius' note[1], is that of Kiresun further south.

The territory of Karesus extended to the borders of Zeleia and included a good deal of the hill-country west of the Aesepus: the town was ruined in Strabo's day[2].

(*b*) In the same district on the left bank of the Aesepus between Polichna and Palaescepsis are mentioned:

(4) Nea Come.

(5) Argyria.

Our only fixed point in this district is Argiza which may possibly be identical with Argyria[3]: it is located by epigraphical evidence at Balia Bazarkeui[4], where Wiegand[5] found remains of a Doric temple, probably of Asklepios.

The Fair Pine mentioned by Demetrius in this neighbourhood—twenty miles north of Adramyttium, at the head-waters, that is, of the Scamander and Aesepus—was evidently an important natural landmark of the watershed from which roads radiated down the valleys[6].

Of the corresponding district on the upper valley of the Kara-déré we are equally ill-informed by ancient writers, and monuments are scanty.

Upper Tarsius valley.

The Byzantine bishopric of *τὰ Παλαιὰ* has been identified on the strength of the name with the mining town and Kaimakamlik of Balia, on the Deirmendere, a western affluent of the Kara-déré. The place is devoid of

[1] ad *Il.* 890. ...*Κάρησον ὃς ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν Αἴσηπον ὕστερον Πίδος ἐκλήθη, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Καρήσου ποταμοῦ καὶ χωρά τις Καρησηνὴ λέγεται ἣν ὁ ἰδιωτισμὸς Κερασηνὴν φασιν.*

[2] Str. 602, 603; cf. Plin. *N.H.* v. 30 intercidit Karene.

[3] Cf. Argissa in Thessaly, later called Argoura (Str. 470, Steph. Byz. s.v.), but Kiepert places Argyria at Karaidin Maden.

[4] *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, p. 904. *CIL.* III. 7084. Argesis in *Tab. Peut.* See also Hierocles and Notitiae.

[5] p. 273.

[6] Cf. the lines of projected roads in Cuinet's map of Bigha Sanjak.

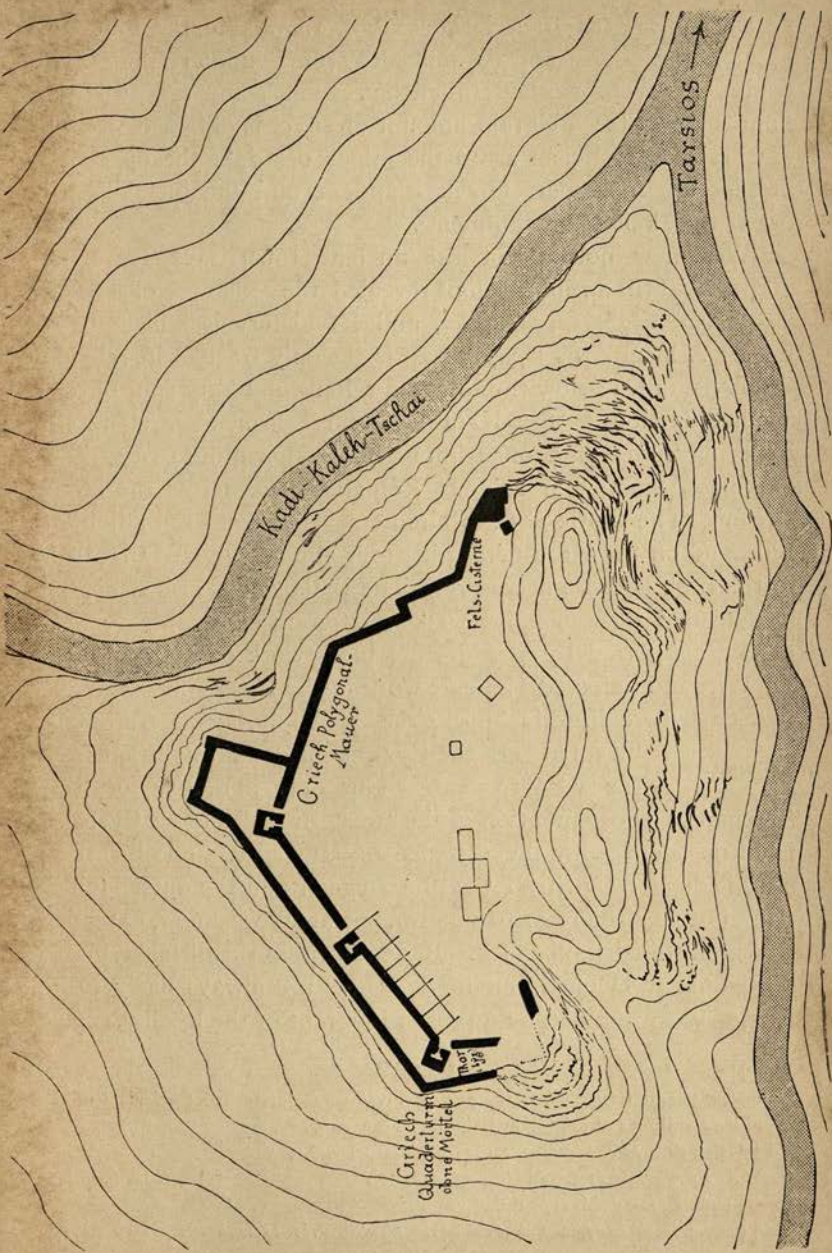


FIG. 13. PLAN OF PERICHARAXIS (WIEGAND).

archaeological (as to a large extent, thanks to the mines, of scenic) attractions and is unhealthy and uninteresting. The lead-mines were worked in ancient times[1], and are still in a flourishing state: a certain amount of silver is obtained, in spite of Strabo's scepticism as to the mines of Ida[2]: the operatives are for the most part Greek islanders, and the metal is sent down to Akchai for shipment[3].

We knew nothing of the ancient town save the name *Ergasteria*[4] till an inscription[5] revealed the existence of a δῆμος καὶ βουλὴ τῆς Περιχαράξεως, and its history is still a sealed book. A local Zeus Κραμψηνὸς[6] is the only trace of its religion.

Three miles below the town on a long and lofty spur of rock at the junction of the Kara-déré and Deirmendere stand the imposing ruins of a once impregnable Byzantine castle, overlooking a small and ruinous Roman bridge across the larger stream. The castle rock is almost severed from the adjoining hills, and on the Kara-déré side drops almost sheer, so that little fortification is there necessary. The Balia side is also steep, but is defended by a massive wall and towers of roughly squared blocks, supported by a projecting breastwork on a lower level. Dr Wiegand detected Hellenic work in the lower courses.

Somewhere in this hill-district, probably, stood Antigonia "a fortress of the Cyzicene fifty stades distant from the western sea[7]." Our only authority for it is Stephanus, whose mention of the "western sea" and the Cyzicene is inconsistent with the distance of 50 stades. The "western sea" is defined by Strabo[8] as the Aegean and the outer Hellespont, but Cyzicene territory never, so far as we know, extended to within this distance of it. Radet, keeping the distance, places Antigonia at Debleki, but mere figures are always likely to be carelessly transcribed by a person ignorant of the locality.

Antigonia.

[1] Munro 169. [2] p. 603.

[3] Mordtmann (*Ausland*, 1851, p. 851) gives some interesting particulars of the primitive conditions of mining at Balia fifty years ago.

[4] Galen *de Medic. Simpl.* IX. 127; cf. Hierocles.

[5] *A.-E. Mitth.* XVIII. 228 etc. = Inscr. III. 18. [6] Inscr. IV. 8, 9.

[7] Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀντιγονεία.

[8] p. 583 ἡ δὲ ἑσπερία θάλασσα ὅ τε Ἑλλήσποντός ἐστιν ὁ ἔξω καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος.

CHAPTER XII.

POEMANENUM.

Poemanenum.

FOR the topography of the Cyzicus district, the site of Poemanenum is a most important point, on which no clinching evidence is as yet forthcoming. It is important firstly for the elucidation of the Roman road system in Asia, and secondly for the geography of the Frankish and Turkish wars.

The name, which is very variously spelt[1], is obviously an ethnic[2], and like so many in this district has affinities in North Greece[3]. The simplest and most obvious derivation is from *ποιμὴν* though in imperial times an eponymous hero Poemes[4] was as usual invented, whose art type follows that of Cyzicus.

We have practically no records of the earlier history of the place[5]. There are autonomous coins bearing the types of Zeus and a thunderbolt, while a small imperial coinage testifies to the worship of Asklepios, which is mentioned by Aristides[6]: we may perhaps assume from the general character of local religious monuments that the Zeus was of the *θεὸς ὕψιστος* type, often connected with the healing art and naturally identified later with the more human Asklepios[7].

We may imagine the place, then, as the *κωμόπολις* of an

[1] Ποιμανηνὸς (χῶρος?) Aristides, Hierocles. Phemenio Tab. Peut., Pomenion Rav. Anon. Notitiae have Ποιμανηνοῦ, Ποιμανίου, Ποιμαναῖος, Ποιμανηνός.

[2] Plin. *N.H.* v. 32, Poemaneni.

[3] Stephanus mentions a mountain Poemenium and a tribe Poemenii in Macedonia.

[4] *Zeitschr. für Num.* III. 123.

[5] Radet, however (p. 10), with Raoul Rochette (IV. 214) considers it a Hellenistic Macedonian colony, relying on the juxtaposition of Poemaneni Macedones in Pliny.

[6] I. 503 (Dindorf). Imperial coins bear also the types of Telesphorus, Eros, and Zeus.

[7] The Zeus of Hadrianutherae seems to have undergone a similar development.

essentially village folk, with the "holy and celebrated" temple of Asklepios as its centre-point, enjoying a nominal autonomy under the suzerainty of Cyzicus.

Stephanus Byzantius, some centuries later, speaks of Poemanenum as (1) *πόλις ἤτοι φρούριον*, (2) *ἔστι δὲ καὶ χωρίον τῆς Κυζίκου*. Since no site proposed hitherto has succeeded in satisfying the conditions of both the Roman road-post and the Byzantine fortress, it seems preferable to take these descriptions as referring to separate places within the territory of the Poemaneni—we know that this was extensive from a boundary-stone[1] which shews that they were neighbours of the Miletopolitans.

We should, therefore, look for two sites, one strategic and the other religious in character[2]. The fortress is the Poemanenum mentioned so frequently in the Byzantine histories—while the village temple, once sacred to Asklepios, became a church of S. Michael[3] (who has certain affinities with the Pergamene god[4]), and the seat of a Byzantine bishopric of which we have record as late as 1380[5].

Hamilton[6] was the first to identify the ruins at Eski Manyas, nine miles north of the lake, with Poemanenum. His argument rests mainly on the similarity of name—a form *Ποιμανίου* occurs in several episcopal lists[7]—and his attribution seems to me correct so far as concerns the fortress: it is followed by Dorigny[8], by Kiepert in his *Westliche Kleinasien*, and lately by Dr Wiegand. Ramsay accepts the identification, but on account of the road difficulties, which concern the village, doubts the correctness of the position of Manyas on the map.

The Castle. Eski Manyas.

The castle of Eski Manyas occupies an immensely strong

[1] Inscr. VI. 7.

[2] Ramsay quotes a somewhat similar case from Phrygia, p. 588.

[3] G. Acrop. B. 37, ch. xxii.

[4] *ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Ποιμανηνοῦ*. The churches of S. Michael at Ulubad, Syki and Tepejik, are still slept in by sick and insane people: see also M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 139 ff. for instances of S. Michael's succession to Asklepios.

[5] *Acta Patr. Const.* I. 18: an abbot of S. Peter's at Poemanenum is also mentioned in Conc. Nic. II.

[6] II. 105.

[7] Notit. IX., XIII. and one MS. of VIII.

[8] *Rev. Arch.* 1877, 102.

position on a steep and lofty spur of the Manyas Dagh, shewing a conical front covered with brushwood towards the plain and lake. This spur is separated by steep valleys from the surrounding hills, and joined to them behind only by a low and narrow isthmus. Up the westernmost of the two ravines goes a horse-path in the direction of Balukiser. Fortifications are traceable all the way round the top of the castle hill, enclosing an oval space some 300 yards in length, though the side of the isthmus (north) is alone defended by considerable ruins of the *enceinte*: even here the approach to the castle from the isthmus is steep. This part of the wall is defended by five square towers, solidly built, though cracked and tottering through earthquakes. Their lower courses are of granite and old marble blocks, including several rows of small columns built in endways: the upper portions are of rubble. The two westernmost towers appear to have flanked the only gate. Outside the fortification, on the north side of the isthmus, are plentiful remains of a settlement, including a mosque, according to Mordtmann built by Murad I.[1], and a turbeh, with three dédés, traditionally erected to the memory of the faithful who fell in the last assault on the fortress. The modern village, a humble settlement mainly composed of Circassians, lies beneath the castle on the foot hills above the plain.

Munro says[2]: "the fortress is admirably placed to command both the road westwards between the lake and the hills and the road southwards up the Macestus valley, and to dominate the whole plain between the Kara Su and the Macestus[3]: it must have been one of the most important of the ring of strongholds with which the Byzantine emperors encircled the great plain... the regular mustering ground of their forces and the base of their operations in the Turkish wars."

This description suits Anna's *φρούριον ἐρυμνότατον*, Ville-

[1] *Ausland*, 1855, 587. Dorigny took it for a Byzantine church; it is an ill-built structure about 15·00 m. long and consisting of four domes arranged as a headless cross; of a second mosque on the isthmus only the minaret remains.

[2] p. 160.

[3] It also blocked the crossing of the hills to the plain of Balukiser, a tempting route for the Turkish raiders, if not for a regular army.

hardouin's "moult fort Chastiau vers la Plaine" and the general importance of Poemanenum much better than *Lentiana*, with which Munro identifies Manyas.

Lentiana.

Lentiana was never a fortress of capital importance. The first notices of it (in Anna Comnena) speak of it as a district rather than a town or fort—the Turks march διὰ τῶν Λεντιανῶν from Cyzicus to Poemanenum[1] and ravage the plain περὶ τοὺς πρόποδας τῶν Λεντιανῶν καὶ τῆς Κοτοιρακίας[2] καλουμένης[3]. Villehardouin, whose accounts of the earlier campaigns of the Crusaders in Asia is much more detailed than Nicetas', does not mention Lentiana at all, so Acropolita's recital of the places which fell into the hands of the Latins[4] should, therefore, be taken "the Lentiana country up to Lopadium," whether or not it includes the hills of Poemanenum as Ramsay's map implies. The character of the name suggests a large estate in the district—perhaps "(praedia) Lentiana[5]," which may have occupied the eastern part of the Manyas plain.

It is first mentioned as a *fortress* (τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Λεντιανῶν) in Acropolita's account of the siege in 1214[6], and after the recapture by Vatatzes it does not appear again. It may well have been built during the Frankish occupation or by the Byzantines during the truce as a link between Poemanenum and Lopadium, for this was evidently its position[7].

Top-Hissar.

The only known ruin which coincides with what we know of Lentiana is the castle of Top-Hissar[8], two hours west of Mihallitch, which guards the ford of the Kara-déré, and the bridge over its tributary which took the road from Cyzicus eastwards. This ruin occupies a small knob

[1] XIV. 5.

[2] Tomaschek, p. 94, conjectures Γοτθογραικία, comparing Theoph. 385 Γοτθογραῖκοι and Const. Porph. *de Them. Obseq.*, who connects the Γραῖκοι with the Granicus—too far west for the present operations.

[3] Anna Comnena XV. 1.

[4] Ch. vii.

[5] The Σύνοψις χρονική (Sathas Μεσ. Βιβλ. VII.), though following Acropolita closely, calls the place consistently Οὐαλεντιανά.

[6] Ch. xvi.; cf. φρούριον in ch. xlvi.

[7] Cf. Acrop. vii.

[8] The "Doulocui" identified by Mannert (VI. iii. 543) with Poemanenum; Munro found Byzantine remains there, and late detail is built into the mosque below the castle.

of rock above the marshes at the junction of the rivers. Inside the walls is a cistern lined with cement. On the south front three towers, the curtain between them, and traces of a breast-work in front can be made out. The walls are built of rubble faced with small stones badly jointed: the conspicuous eastern tower is decorated with friezes of tile arranged in simple patterns. The construction resembles that of the castle commanding the Macestus bridge at Tash Kapu.

I incline to associate this site, "between two rivers," with the scene of Roger the Catalan's victory over the Turks[1], though the distance from Cyzicus (two leagues) is inadequate. Pachymeres[2] speaks of a "Tower of William" (an obviously Frankish name) as the scene of the battle. Τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Λεντιανῶν is of course rather a description than a name.

Poemanenum.

If a suitable site can be found for Lentiana, the importance of Poemanenum, and the great strength of the fort at Manyas, leave no doubt of the identification of Poemanenum and Eski Manyas. The identification harmonises with all our Byzantine authorities for Poemanenum, for the loose writing of Nicetas, who seems to represent it as on the road of the Crusaders from Pegae to Lopadium[3], is cleared up by Villehardouin: the latter tells us that they made their head-quarters at Panderma, and that it was an excursion thence which resulted in the battle beneath Poemanenum: it is connected in exactly the same way with Cyzicus in Anna VI. 13 (where a forlorn hope is sent thence to recapture it) and in XIV. 5 (when the Turks retreat from Cyzicus to Poemanenum).

So much for the fortress. I am, as I have hinted, inclined to disagree with Dr Wiegand's estimate of the importance of Eski Manyas in classical times: the ruins are all Byzantine and Turkish, and the inscriptions may well have been carried. Manyas is not, it seems to me, a *natural* road-centre: its direct communication south with Balukiser is a little used horse-track, while of the two high roads shewn passing through it, in Wiegand's map[4], the Pergamon-Cyzicus would more naturally pass west of the lake, while the ἀρχαία βασιλική, as the later

[1] Muntaner. 203.
[2] *Andr. Pal.* v. 21 = II. p. 417.
[3] *Post captam urbem* 8.
[4] See above, Fig. 12.

Turkish road-book shews, need never rise so far into the hills. I therefore look elsewhere for the village on the Pergamon road and the Phemenio of the Peutinger Table[1]. From its connection with the road Poemanenum has been placed on the Aesepus at Gunen, an inscription[2] from which place has been restored with the name of the village. The characteristic letters are, however, wanting, and even if the restoration is correct it can only prove that the boundaries of the Poemaneni extended west to Gunen as they extended east to Miletupolis. Aristides again does not identify the "hot springs on the Aesepus" with the village of Poemanenum, which lay on his way thither.

Now it has long been remarked that the plain of Manyas is full of inscriptions, and the walls of Manyas castle especially have been a happy hunting ground of the epigraphist. These inscriptions and the other worked blocks in the castle walls are assigned to Cyzicus, to which theory the important character of one inscription at least[3] gives colour: but the cross-country transport from Cyzicus involves labour and expense[4], and the river route is very circuitous; whereas the rough building of the castle walls gives the idea of a haphazard erection rather than of one where no trouble or expense was spared. I believe that the inscriptions from the plain come from village communities, and especially from the village of the Poemaneni possessing the temple of Asklepios, which may have been a shrine of political importance; another inscription from Manyas commemorates the family of the Asclepiadae[5],

[1] We need not, perhaps, insist on the road having actually passed through it, only near enough for the village to have given its name to the stage. Such was evidently the case with the coast road which left Parium on the left hand (veterem Troiam linquentes a laeva. Anon. Canis. 517), and must surely have passed south of Delikli Bair, never less than three miles from Cyzicus: nor can the Cius-Pergamon road have entered Apollonia ad Rhyndacum. Yet all these are stages in the road-book.

[2] Inscr. v. 58.

[3] I. 19.

[4] I have, however, found isolated stones at Panderma said to have come from Eski Manyas.

[5] Inscr. I. 10. Cf. also III. 28. *Rev. Arch.* 34. 102 (4). Perhaps a local centre of the Commune Asiae in republican times, when Cyzicus, the natural centre, was still a free city. The Asiatic games called Soteria and Muciea might appropriately

and a member of it, who lived in the first century B.C., is called οἰκιστὴς; there is mention also of a temple of Asklepios and Apollo. Asklepios worship could not but have been established at Cyzicus itself in the period of Pergamene influence: but it may well have been introduced to the village community living round the temple of the θεὸς ὕψιστος (whose place Asklepios took) and Apollo in the first century B.C. If this Manyas inscription is indeed from the Poemanenum shrine that shrine cannot be far off the castle.

The chroniclers of Frederick Barbarossa's expedition[1] throw a fresh light on the relative position of the fortress and the village. The army, setting out from Lampsacus by Pegae to the great road about Susurlu, marched from Pegae in two days to the great river Anelonica (Aesepus) and so passing a "palus undique stagnans" to their camp[2] "inter oppidum Ypomenon et civitatem Archangelon," evidently the castle of Poemanenum (Manyas) and the town of S. Michael's Church; the writer probably *saw* both from the camp, and on this assumption I would even hazard the suggestion that the camp was pitched on the low hill of Yeni Manyas which commands both the Kara-déré valley and the fortress of Eski Manyas. That the Crusaders kept to the plains is proved by the "via vallosa et lutosa" of Ansbert and the mention of the lake. They followed the reverse of the route followed by Chishull, who passed through Manyas and Hammamli on his way to Sari Keui. The village is then to be sought west of Manyas and near the lake, probably on the Kara-déré. Ramsay, quite apart from this evidence, has placed Poemanenum on the same river, while Munro[3] working from the journeys of Aristides opines that if the latter was on his way to Gunen, Poemanenum would fall about five miles

be celebrated at a shrine of the *Saviour* Asklepios, and Aristides refers to the Poemanene god by this title.

[1] Ansbert (ed. Dobrowsky). Tageno (Freher, *Scriptores Rer. Germ.*). Anon. Canisii (*Thesaurus* III. 527, ed. 1728, Antwerp).

[2] Ansbert has: "inter civitatem Archangelon et castrum quoddam." The name Archangelos occurs again in Ducas 104, in the Κάμπος Μαινόμενος, and, with Angelochori, Angelocome, is evidence of the popularity of Michael in Asia. Cf. Ramsay's notes on his Phrygian inscriptions 404, 427, 678.

[3] P. 168.

north-west of Ilidja and again on the Kara-déré. Cramer[1] quite independently placed Poemanenum at Hammamli by Manyas, and Nicodemus of Cyzicus[2] placed Miletupolis near the same spot on account of the ruins and numerous inscriptions and coins found there and at Hadji Pavon or Pagon near by[3]. Some such position harmonises well with what we know of the road system.

The village of Alexa, on the left bank of the lower Karadere about an hour below Suleimanly, still seems to me the most likely site: Alexa is one of many settlements which have been attracted by the rich grasslands of the broad valley, here separated from the plain and lake of Manyas only by the low ridge on which Hadji Pagon stands. Overlooking the valley just west of the village is a hill crowned by a grove of small but well-grown oaks, a peculiarity shared by none of the surrounding hills: though the valley at this point is said to be full of ancient remains right down to and even beyond the river, this particular hill is considered the best place for stones, and rubble foundations are visible in a clearing among the trees. Such a site, facing due south, and enjoying, as I was told, immunity from the fevers of the lake plain, is perfectly suitable for a temple of Asklepios, whatever truth there may be in the villagers' story of an ancient *hammam* discovered on the slope of the hill: the grove of oaks, again, may well be referred to the ancient Zeus who appears on the autonomous coinage, while the inscriptions of the river-god Enbeilus[4] perhaps point to a still earlier period of religious thought.

The comparative paucity of inscribed stones—worked marble blocks are common in the village and at the neighbouring Tchaoush-keui—is accounted for by the newness of the settlement and earlier plundering of the site by the villagers of the plain, possibly also by the builders of the castle. The assembly of the god may survive in the horsefair held in the valley five days before the great fair of Manyas.

[1] *Asia Minor*, I. 37.

[2] Προλεγόμενα περὶ τῆς Ἐπαρχίας τῆς Κυζίκου, 1876, cf. also Inscr. IV. 67.

[3] Hadji Bunar on Kiepert's map.

[4] Inscr. IV. 78.

I may here mention that just above the modern ferry are said to be the remains of an ancient bridge: the river being high at the time of my visits, the piers were not visible and I was only shewn very questionable remains of the northern abutment. The ancient main road probably crossed above the village to take advantage of the low way across the hills by Chakyrja and Hadji Pagon—the course of the modern route to Balia.

The coins shewn me in the village included several imperial coins of Cyzicus and a much worn autonomous brass of Poemanenum itself, which, though no evidence alone, is of some rarity and serves to confirm my theory as to the site.

Later than the twelfth century prudence may have dictated a removal of the settlement and perhaps the bishopric to the shadow of the castle (as in the case of Miletupolis and Hadrianutherae), where the ruined mosque now stands. The town of Manyas, mentioned among the towns of Karassi taken by Orkhan, evidently refers to the hill settlement, whose decay has only recently transferred the seat of local government once more to the plains (Yeni Manyas). Dorigny records that within living memory there were 800 houses at Eski Manyas. The great horsefair held at Manyas in the early part of June[1] has now at any rate no religious character, but, like that at Sari-keui, keeps to the place consecrated by tradition; and in each case this place is near the site of a famous ancient shrine.

[1] Called *Kushu Panair* from a root meaning to *run*, commemorating the horse-races which used to be held in connection with the fair, not (as Cuinet) from gush = bird.

CHAPTER XIII.

ROADS.

HAVING settled so far as possible the sites of the towns, we will attempt to apply to them the Roman road system, taking as our text the Peutinger Table, which represents the reformed routes of Constantine and his successors, and making such digressions as are necessary to illustrate the conditions of travelling before and after this epoch. We may postulate at the outset that unless valid reasons are forthcoming to the contrary the direction of modern "araba roads" is regarded as the best evidence of that of the ancient highways[1]. The figures of the Table are so corrupt throughout that they can hardly be admitted as evidence.

1. The Coast Road.

The high road between Lampsacus and Cius is thus laid down by the Table: Parium, 22—Priapus, 15—Granicus, 27—Cyzicus, 48—[Lamasco], 23—Prousias, 20—Cius, 25.

With this we may compare (1) the "mansiones" on the route of Theodore of Studium in 796[2]—*τὰ Καθαρὰ, Λιβιανὰ, Λεῦκαι, Φυραῖον, ἡ Παῦλα, Λουπάδιον (sic), Τίλις, Ἀλκερίζα, Ἀναγεγραμμένοι, Περπέρινα, τὸ Πάριον, Ὅρκος, Λάμψακος, Ἄβυδος*—and (2) Hadji Khalfa's itinerary[3] between Brusa and the Dardanelles, which runs:

Beylik (plain) 3 hrs, Karagatch Baglari 6, Ulubad bridge 2½, Saribey (province of Kermasti) 4, Salder [Salyr] near Belgik [Boljak, Hamilton's Beuljas], province of Manyas, river [Aesepus]

[1] The modern post-roads are (1) Panderma—Balukiser; (2) (*a*) Panderma and (*b*) Erdek, Aidinjik, Mihallitch, Brusa, with a branch from opposite Aboulliond to Triglia and Mudania; (3) Mihallitch, Kermasti Susurlu (the last section nearly finished); (4) Karabogha—Bighashehr; (5) (in construction) Balukiser—Soma.

[2] Letters, I. 3.

[3] II. 530.

Körpe (Agatch)[1] and wooden bridge near Vedjan [Yurtan?], province of Kunan [Gunen] 4½, Geserkukergenlik [cf. Yazili Gulgen Dagh at the head of the pass in Kiepert's map] 6½, Dimetoka 6½, Couroudere 4½, Goregi [Güredje] by the sea 6, Tchardak, Bergas 4, Sultaniyeh [Dardanelles] 5.

In the century between the first crossing of the Turks into Europe and their establishment at Constantinople, this road was especially important, as connecting Brusa with Adrianople[2]. To this period belongs the khan at Chardak opposite Gallipoli, which, according to Turner[3], strongly resembles that at Ulubad.

In the first section it will be noted that Theodore's route only reaches the sea at Parium, omitting Priapus: the Crusaders under Barbarossa who crossed at Gallipoli and, abandoning their vehicles, marched in three days through "wooded and mountainous country" to the plain of the Granicus, passed inside of Parium[4] also, while the Turkish route does not strike the coast before Gürelje: so that the Table is the only evidence of the inclusion of Priapus on the main road, and that evidence is somewhat impugned by (1) the site of Didymateiche (which is earlier evidence for an important crossing of the river near this point) and by (2) the only relic of this section of the Roman road—the bridge of Ak-Kupru near Bigha.

Ak-Kupru.

Chishull[5] contents himself with a bare mention of this bridge (which he crossed on his way from Smyrna to Adrianople), attributing the building to Mohammed IV.; "here," he continues, "are to be observed the marks of a

[1] I have transferred "agatch" from the preceding line: the French translation of Hadji Khalfa (p. 736) has it in both places.

[2] Cf. the routes of Barbarossa, Schiltberger (p. 6) and Cyriac (Colucci LXXXIV.) to Brusa, and Chishull's from Smyrna. The importance of Gallipoli (and consequently of the ferry between it and Chardak) is dwelt on by Clavijo, p. 28. The ferry is noticed by Zosimus (1419—21, in *Itin. Russes*), p. 207; Belon, II. ii.; De Lannoy, p. 119; Sandys, 26; Tournefort, I. 463, and Pococke, II. 111.

[3] III. 212, cf. Castellan, I. 276; Walpole, 91; Chishull, 59.

[4] "Ad laevam nostram Troiam relinquentes," Ansbert. "Veterem Troiam linquentes a laeva," Anon Canis. No milestones are known from the section Lampsacus—Granicus, and Alexander's route from Abydos (*Anab.* I. 2. 6) by Percote (Bergaz), Lampsacus?, Colonae, (Arabadurah? Judeich) and Hermaeum (Gasmelyderessi? Judeich) does not help us until the two latter points are definitely fixed.

[5] p. 60.

Royal way denoted by two equal and regular barrows on each side, by which lies the Grand Signior's road to the wars."

The best description of the bridge, which has been steadily disappearing, is Turner's[1], who calls it "a very magnificent Roman bridge built with brick and small stones and cased with large squares of fine marble. It consisted of eight arches, four large ones over the river, and four small ones, two at each end, at the extremities on land: the largest arch was of eighteen paces' span and eight in width: it was irregular, for it was one of four with none large enough to correspond with it. The pressure on the bridge was lightened by small arches built immediately under the pavement."

Tchihatcheff in 1847 noted "restes d'un très-beau pont antique...à l'endroit où la route conduit de Guendje à Dimotica: ce pont repose sur trois arcs et il s'est écroulé à sa moitié[2]."

Janke speaks of the bridge in the following terms: "Am linken Ufer stehen noch mehrere Bogen mit runden Gewölben aus Ziegel, während die Pfeiler auf schön behauenen, 1 m. langen, ½ m. hohen, Steinen ruhen. Oben ist die Strassenanlage eingestürzt. Auf dem rechten Ufer steht noch ein Pfeilerrest dessen Unterbauten besonders regelmässig scheinen."

The most noteworthy relic of the bridge in 1906 (when I passed it) was a small arch of the western abutment with the adjoining pier. The span of the arch was 2·70 m., and the width of the roadway, which was traceable by its bounding walls for some yards, 7·40. The outer *voussoirs* of the arch with the whole face of the bridge had been stripped off, revealing a vault of brick. A few of the lower courses inside the arch were of stone, but the upper part of the bridge so far as it existed was of very rough rubble with tile carelessly used. This may have led Kiepert to consider the bridge Turkish—he like Chishull ascribes it, presumably on local tradition, to Mohammed IV. (1648—1687)—and it may well be that it was extensively repaired in Turkish times on account of the importance of the road. But Turner's description of the remains in his day seems

[1] p. 206: the bridge is mentioned also by Texier (*Univers* III. 155) and as γέφυρα τῶν τρίων ἀψίδων in the Ἀνατολικὴ Ἀναθεώρησις (1885), No. 112.

[2] *Asie Mineure*, I. 212.

to be good evidence that we have here a bridge of the same period as those at Sultan-Chair and on the Aesepus.

The valleys of the Granicus and its tributaries are the natural outlets of the thickly populated hill country on this side of the watershed, and the natural roads to the passes. One of these—connecting the Kale Peuke at the head of the Scamander with the plain—is mentioned by Strabo[1], and the modern routes to Adramyt—viâ Avunia and Tchanbazar respectively—shew their general direction. Theodore's *ἀναγεγραμμένοι* (sc. *στῦλοι*?) may refer to some sign-post marking the distances to various points on the routes which drew together in the plain.

From here eastwards to the bridge at Lopadium the road is double, the northern branch passing by Cyzicus, the southern behind the lake. Already in Hellenistic times we have record of the northern as *ὁδὸς βασιλικὴ ἕως Αἰσήπου* and of the southern as *ὁδὸς βασιλικὴ ἡ ἀρχαία*—probably the old Persian road to Dascylium[2].

The official route in the Table is the northern, while the southern is given by Hadji Khalfa in whose time Sultanyeh (Dardanelles) was the objective and Cyzicus no longer of importance.

(*a*) The northern route probably followed the coast throughout as far as Cyzicus: its modern substitute—the araba-road between Bigha and Panderma—does so up to Musatcha, where it climbs by easy gradients to the level of the plain, and crossing the head of the Sazli-dere, forks shortly after to Aidinjik and Panderma. The only known ancient milestones are those found at Aidinjik and behind Tchaoush Keui, rather implying that the Roman road adhered to the coast and, picking up the line of the modern road below Aidinjik, passed over the western mole into the city.

Guvertchin Kupru.

The only fixed point on the Roman road is the crossing of the Aesepus about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles above the mouth. Here are still to be seen considerable remains of the Roman bridge (Guvertchin Kupru) which carried this road across the river. Its direction is about E.S.E. by E. and though

[1] p. 603. [2] *Ath. Mitth.* 1904, 278 f.

no main arch is preserved in its entirety, the remaining piers—only one has fallen—still stand to their full height and even preserve the sections of the roadway intact.

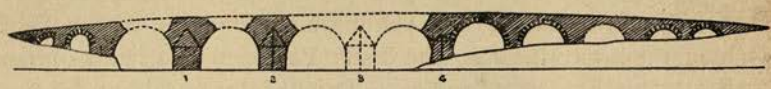


FIG. 14. AESEPUS BRIDGE. SKETCH ELEVATION.

The main stream is spanned by four arches solidly built of rubble faced with granite ashlar and vaulted with the same material. The westernmost, which was the only one accessible at the time of my visit, has a span of 12·20 metres, the height of the pier (footing-course to roadway) being about 8·00 m. The roadway was borne on four slab-roofed vaults parallel to the direction of the bridge. The third pier from the west bank has fallen. The piers are planned with sharp triangular cut-waters against the stream, while on the lower side they are furnished

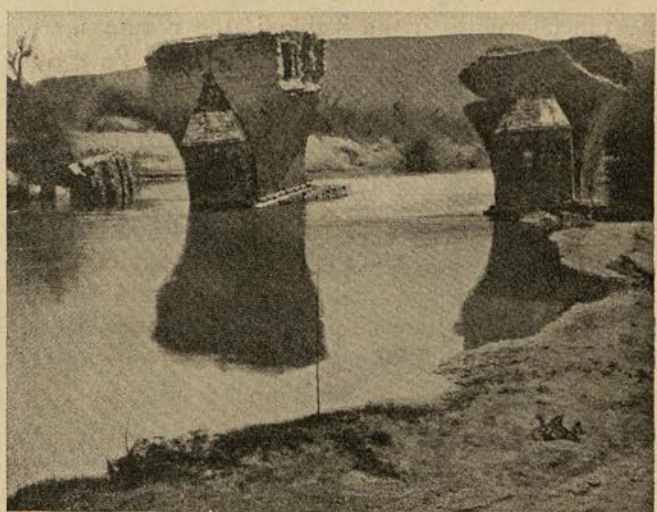


FIG. 15. AESEPUS BRIDGE. VIEW FROM NORTH.

with blunt buttresses of hexagonal plan presenting a flat face outwards.

The stream at this point passes close under the west bank, so

that the western abutment is short. It is pierced by a small arch and half-arch with tile vaults, the outer *voussoirs* being alternately stones and groups of tiles; this is the construction used throughout in the less massive bridge at Sultan-Chair.

The eastern abutment is much longer than the western, and is well preserved (though much overgrown) right up to the main stream, a distance of 58 metres. The westernmost pier (4) is of a different type to the others, having a low, squat cut-water with sloping profile; both this and the next westernmost are relieved by vaults running across the bridge: these vaults are completely masked on the stream side, but on the down side are made conspicuous by the alternate tile and stone *voussoirs* we have before alluded to. The arch between (span 12·20) is treated in the same manner, and this construction is continued in the culvert arches, gradually decreasing in size, which support the extremity of the abutment. One of these is completely overgrown and is conjecturally indicated on the key-sketch.

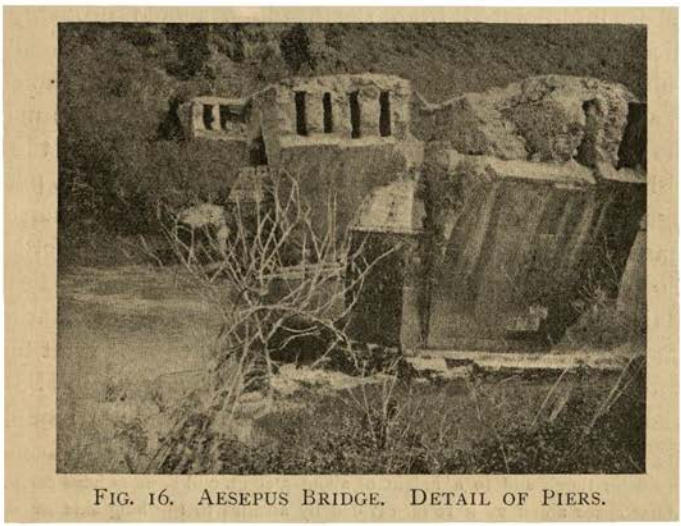


FIG. 16. AESEPUS BRIDGE. DETAIL OF PIERS.

The roadway is built of large stones, only occasionally squared, and is about 5·60 metres wide: at the end of the eastern abutment are remains of an *exedra* in brick (paralleled at the Sangarius bridge near Sophon[1]) round which the road

[1] Texier, *Asie Mineure*, pl. IV.

forks. An upright cylindrical stone 0·80 m. high and 0·40 m. in diameter stands beside it and may have been intended to record repairs.

The road from between the bridge and Cyzicus is still to some extent the original Roman way. It is paved with small round stones to a depth of 5 or 6 inches, well pounded or rolled together in earth. The road commands magnificent views of the Aesepus embouchure and the peninsula of Cyzicus; it was till quite lately the usual route between Panderma and Bighashehr: a lower route fording the Aesepus at its mouth and striking inland at Musatcha is now preferred.

Two hours east of the bridge, behind Tchaoush-keui, are remains of an old Turkish khan[1] near which in a cemetery stands the 13th milestone from Cyzicus.

From Cyzicus the road struck inland, avoiding the hill country of the Karadagh (which leaves no room for a road between it and the sea), so that the bracketed (Lamasco), obviously interpolated from the heading, should probably be supplied by Lopadium.

This section (Cyzicus—Lopadium) allows of some choice of route, as the plain country is easy: the present post-road makes for the gap by Debleki and in general avoids villages; the old Turkish highway, and probably the Byzantine before it, passed through Akchebunar and over a low hill to the northern tributary of the Kara Su, which it crossed just before the junction of the streams by the bridge beneath the fort of Top-Hissar[2]; thence to Ulubad, probably crossing the Macestus at Tchamandra[3] (the Mandrae of Hierocles?) where Perrot found the 25th milestone, and whence a road still runs to Top Hissar.

The southern branch of the loop crosses difficult mountain

[1] It seems to date from the XV.–XVI. cent.: the walls are ashlar faced and about 1·00 m. thick: they stand to a height of about 3·00 m. and seem to have enclosed a rectangular space about 20 × 10 m. divided by arcades in the long side walls into 6 compartments: every other pier supported a transverse arch which took the vaulting.

[2] Cf. Gerlach, 256, and Texier, *Univ. Pitt.* XII., III. 163: the latter remarks traces of the old causeway.

[3] A possible ancient crossing near Beykeui (perhaps that of the southern road) may be suggested: a causeway built with exceedingly hard cement and leading to the river was found there some years ago.

country between the Granicus and Aesepus (which it passed near Sarikeui), as is evidenced by the difference of a single hour in the standard times between Bigha-Gunen (12) and Bigha-Panderma (13)[1].

This was presumably the route followed by Alexander and Barbarossa[2], both making for the southern roads probably by way of the Macestus valley (see p. 121).

From the Aesepus the Turkish road passed south of the Manyas lake, crossed the Macestus some six miles south of Mihallitch and rejoined the northern branch of the loop at Lopadium.

Beyond Ulubad a straight road over first plain, then fertile rolling country, leads to Brusa. Karagatch and Apollonia are left on the right, and nearly opposite the latter a new road branches to Mudania, reaching the sea at Triglia. Of the khan on this road, and near Ulubad, we have spoken above[3].

II. Macestus Valley Road.

The Macestus valley road, connecting Cius (and Cyzicus) with (1) Pergamon and (2) Thyatira and Smyrna, is laid down by the Table as follows: Apollonia, Miletupolis (20), Hadrianutherae (33), Pergamon (8). The general line of this road is that marked out by Nature for the intercommunication of the northern and western ports of Asia Minor: it has varied comparatively slightly from age to age in accordance with the changes in market centres and especially of shipping ports.

Ancient.

In ancient times, as in modern, the branches serving the lake plains joined where the valley narrows: the road from Cius was identical with the coast-road as far as the bridge at Lopadium, where it turned south over the low hills by Melde to cross the river at Tashkapu above Susurlu.

Sultan-Chair bridge.

Ruins of the bridge, guarded by a small castle of mediaeval date, on the cliff of the western bank, still remain, though in a very dilapidated state. Earthquakes are probably in part responsible, while subsequent blasting

[1] The route preferred for wheeled traffic between Bigha and Gunen keeps to the coast up to the Aesepus and then ascends the valley.

[2] Probably also by Theodore as he makes no mention of a stop at Cyzicus.

[3] p. 84.

operations, with a view to the canalization of the river for the transport of boracite[1], have removed the centre portions almost completely. The bridge was a substantial structure of fifteen arches, built of rubble faced with granite blocks; and measuring with abutments about 300 metres: the piers are provided with long cut-waters on the stream side, and lightened by transverse vaults immediately below the footway. The vaults are of brick from about a foot above the spring, the outer *voussoirs* above this point being of alternate tile and stone: the spandrels are relieved by smaller transverse vaults with *voussoirs* of stone and tile alternately, giving a very decorative effect[2].

Guzel Kupru.

The Cyzicus section, which must in Greek times have been far the most important, is represented by a small bridge of two arches (called Guzel Kupru[3]) just south of Debleki, and some hundred yards west of the present *chaussée*. This bridge lies nearly north and south and measures with abutments about 52 metres by 4·30 wide; it is built of irregularly shaped stones: the upper portion dates evidently from Turkish times, and the arches are slightly pointed. The central pier with its cut-waters is faced with rusticated blocks. At the north end stands a Roman road-mark, possibly *in situ*, which may have served rather as a record of road repairs than as a milestone.

From here the joint-road again kept slightly west of the present, avoiding the pass of Demir Kapu. Remains of it were seen above Omerkeui and on the Balukiser side of the pass by Munro[4].

Arrived in the plain the road forked, (*a*) to Pergamon, inevitably by the pass of Kiresun, and (*b*) to the south to Calamus and Thyatira. For the course of this road in mediaeval times between Calamus (Gelembe) and the Balukiser plain we have only one authority. S. Theodore of Studium on his way from Smyrna to Constantinople[5] in 819 performed sundry

[1] Cf. Cuinet, IV. 69.

[2] A plan and elevations of the bridge are shewn in Wiegand's pl. XXIV. (see Fig. 17).

[3] See Wiegand's fig. 29, p. 296. [4] 165, cf. Pückler-Muskau, 396.

[5] See *Vita S. Theod.* (Migne, *Patr. Graec.* XCIX., (*a*) p. 208, § 211 ff., (*b*) p. 303, § 48 ff.).

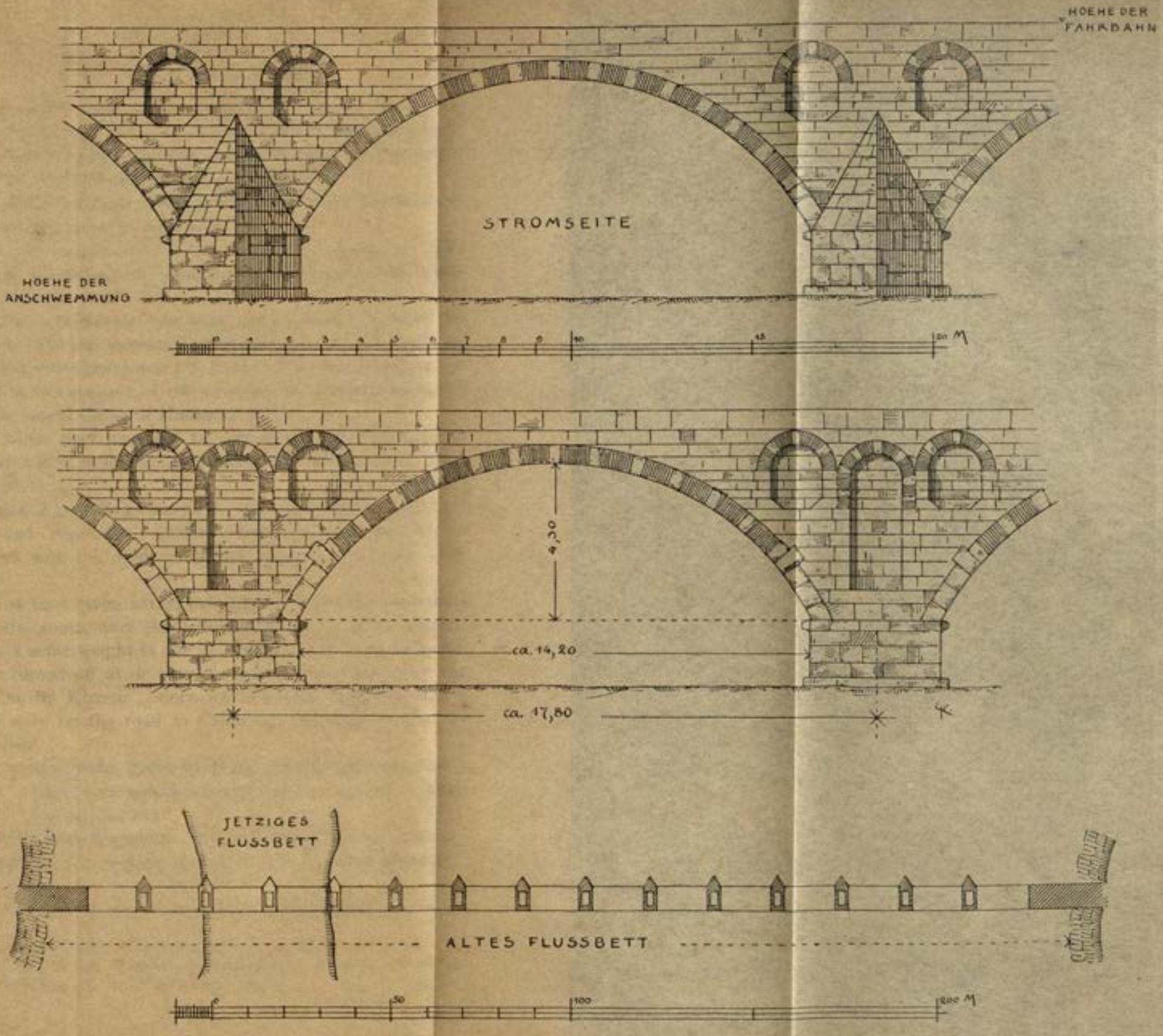


FIG. 17. ELEVATIONS AND PLAN OF SULTAN-CHAIR BRIDGE. (WIEGAND.)

miracles among the villages on this part of his route, the following points, in no very distinct order, it is true, being mentioned:

1. Τόπος τοῦ Λάκκου in the district Μιτάτα: in the neighbourhood was the hill district of Ξηρόλοφοι.

2. Πτελέαι, a village suffering frequently from the floods of the neighbouring river Ὀνοπνικτής.

3. In the neighbourhood was a κώμη Ἀχειράω. The second Life mentions not Ἀχειράω but Μετεωρίς, which was "beside the high road."

1. Τόπος τοῦ Λάκκου has been conjecturally identified by Tomaschek with the modern Courougueuljuk ("Dry-lake") on the old Smyrna-Constantinople road. Μιτάτα (= metata) is known from the account of the founding of Hadrianutherae to refer to the Royal Chase of Hadrian.

2. Πτελέαι may plausibly be connected with the name of the modern Eftele in the broad valley of the Hodja-déré (Ὀνοπνικτής), while

3. Κώμη Ἀχειράω can hardly be other than the later military centre called Ἀχυράους. Other considerations tempt us to identify this with the castle of Hodja Kalesi within three miles of Eftele[1].

The line thus given varies but slightly from the mediaeval and modern route, and the coincidence of so many minute points gives some weight to the argument. The road to Soma may have turned off at or near the castle, and have taken the modern line by Kiresun; since we find that Achyraüs was a stage not only on the road to Calamus[2], but also on that to Germe-Soma[3].

Modern.

The crossing routes given by Hadji Khalfa[4] shew an almost exact correspondence with the ancient roads. They run as follows:

(1) *Mihallitch-Magnesia.* Ulubad, Susurlu Chai crossing, pass, Mendoura, Kurugüljuk, Bash Gelembe, Belamut Manisa[5].

[1] See above, p. 93.

[2] Acr. 195 B., τοὺς τοῦ Καλάμου βουνοὺς παρήμειψεν καὶ τῆς Ἀχυράους ἐγγὺς ἐπήξατο τὴν σκηνήν.

[3] Cf. the Catalans' march to Germe (G. Pachy. II. 425 B.).

[4] p. 531.

[5] Edrisi's route (p. 312) Lubadhia—Naria—Kalamata (Djelmata) river—is, according to Tomaschek, identical, *Naria* being for Akira.

(2) *Brusa-Bergama.* Karagatch, Ulubad, Tcheltikli, Balukiser, Bardakji, Tanhala, Gjaudir (Tchavdyr?), Belugik, Bergama[1].

In Turkish times the great road had two termini, Brusa and Mihallitch. The branch from the former took the line of the old road (Cius-Hadrianutherae) as far as the bridge of Ulubad: the Mihallitch branch was served by the small port on the left bank two hours below the town which took the bulk of the considerable traffic between Constantinople and Smyrna: the crossing of the Macestus just north of Mihallitch was effected by a massive early Turkish bridge, replaced already in Ouseley's time by one of wood, and now by a ferry: the abutments of this bridge and the long causeway of rubble with tile-arched culverts which formed its southern approach still remain, and parts of the road are roughly paved.

Outside Mihallitch the two roads joined, and proceeded up the left bank of the river, crossing its tributary at Tash-Kapu immediately above Adakeui by a stone bridge. This bridge has been utilised for the new road now building between Kermasti and Susurlu, and much of the causeway has been destroyed for material. The bridge consists of one large arch flanked by two smaller: the arches are segmental and the *voussoirs* well cut and fitted, the rest being of rubble.

The main river was crossed by "a bridge of six arches, or rather cheekes of stone, the covering flat and wood[2]," three-quarters of an hour below the junction of the Hatab-déré and Susurlu Chai: the new (1906) bridge occupies the same position[3].

At Susurlu came in two secondary routes, from Panderma and the Dardanelles respectively. The latter passed through Eski Manyas[4] and must have joined the Brusa-Dardanelles

[1] This route was followed by Ibn Batutah (p. 71). An old Turkish road from Kutaya through Balat and Balukiser to the Dardanelles is mentioned by Sir Charles Wilson (p. 59): it is probably identical with Ibn Khordadbeh's Kutaya-Abidous route (ed. de Goeje, 75) and the road from Kutaya to "Troy" between the south and west points seen by Bertrandon de la Brocquière on leaving the former city.

[2] Covel, 260: Wheler (p. 225) places it one or two miles from Susurlu. A bridge is also mentioned by De Thevenot (172), Tournefort (II. 487) and Egmont (188).

[3] It is part of the new Kermasti-Susurlu post road: another bridge is in course of construction immediately above Susurlu.

[4] Chishull's route, p. 58. Cf. Tournefort, I. 463.

road in the Manyas plain; the village of Eski Chatal ("Old Fork") perhaps commemorates the point of junction.

The great road then passed over the high ground just east of Omerkeui[1], and so through the pass of Demir Kapu—a noted haunt of highwaymen—down to the plain of Balukiser[2]; the Smyrna route avoided the latter town in favour of the village of Mendoura, where it crossed the Hodja-déré. The bridge of Mendoura[3] consists of ten plain piers of rubble masonry provided with cut-waters against the stream and bridged by a rough wooden platform: it measures between abutments about 80 metres. There are traces of an older bridge cutting in at an angle on the left bank.

From Mendoura the road crossed the plain of Balukiser and passed over the hills through Courougueuljuk to Gelembe, thence through Magnesia to Smyrna.

This route has naturally lost all its importance since the introduction of steam. Traffic from Balukiser southwards goes to Soma, the nearest point on the rail, while on the northern side Panderma is the port of shipment, not Mihallitch. Mendoura has sunk from a large village of 2600 inhabitants[4] to a squalid hamlet, and Mihallitch is only concerned with the meagre traffic between Panderma and Brusa.

In the days of sailing ships the overland route was, if slow, of more or less certain duration, and in point of safety the sea was no better than the land. There was a regular weekly caravan service between Constantinople and Smyrna in the seventeenth century[5], and a score of Frankish pens have described the route between then and now. The road was well provided with khans,

[1] See Prokesch and Munro, and the French edition of Hadji Khalfa. The course of the new *chaussée* has deprived Omerkeui of all importance and transferred the Mudirate of Firt to Susurlu.

[2] Dr Covel's account (the most detailed) shews that the old road passed through the gorge which the present road skirts at Demir Kapu. Lucas (1724, I. 184) remarks of Demir Kapu: "On avoit eu soin de le fortifier, non seulement d'un bon Château, dont on voit encore les ruïnes; mais d'enfermer le passage avec une bonne porte bâtie de fort grosses pierres & soûtenuë d'une voûte sous laquelle il falloit passer. Il paroît que cette voûte, dont il reste encore plus de 40 pieds de long, étoit un rempart assuré pour fermer l'entrée de la Misie." This presumably refers to the castle at Tash-Kapu and the vaulted khan at Demir Kapu.

[3] Prokesch 187, also mentioned in the French edition of Hadji Khalfa.

[4] Prokesch.

[5] La Boullaye, p. 60.

though none are constructed on the elaborate scale of the Seljuk caravanserais of the south. As these buildings are hastening to decay some particulars of them are here put on record.

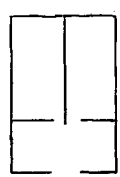
(1) Between Ulubad and Susurlu; "ein alter, viel besuchter, mit guten Brunnen versehener Khan[1]."

(2) At Susurlu[2]; the khan at Susurlu is a rectangular building of rough stone about 40 × 15 metres, with a hip roof of low pitch supported by king-posts and an elaborate arrangement of struts. It is divided by a central row of pillars of timber and stone (resting on stone bases) into nine bays, of which the four at the northern end are partitioned off by a rough cross wall: on either side are narrow aisles slightly raised above the floor level, and divided off by rows of rough wooden posts. The walls are provided with numerous slit windows alternating with simply-corbelled chimney-breasts of tile or stone. The entrance from the street is in the middle of the eastern side, and is prefaced by a simple square porch flanked by low benches; this porch is domed, and covered with a hip roof. Above the inner door (a low segmental arch with joggled *voussoirs*) is an Arabic inscription mentioning Hafiz Mustafa Effendi and Bagtche Han.

The smaller and less pretentious khan at Omerkeui is very similar in plan but lacks the porch.

(3) Ruined khan at Demir Kapu[3]; Covel says of it (folio MS. 260 verso):

"In the lowest bottom of the valleys just over the spring to the left hand stands an old building: it contains two pretty big vaults parallell one to the other with their wall of partition at right angles with a third, all of a bignesse, and doores to pass from one to other: the great door of entrance is in the third, two chimneys in every vault: they count them as common Khanes, and often they prove so for theives, or they may have been made for some other designs."



Ichnog.

[1] Prokesch 191. I know of no khan in this situation.

[2] Tournefort 487, Hamilton 109, Texier 157, Cuinet, IV. 267. Egmont speaks of "*two* khans joining each other, one for horses and mules, the other for camels," as does Hamilton, adding that they had "rich doorways in the Saracenic style." This can hardly be taken of the two divisions of the existing khan, so one has probably been destroyed.

[3] Egmont 187, Tournefort 488.

This is probably the "Byzantine ruin" mentioned by Prokesch (p. 188). I saw very slight remains of it in 1906 just below the guardhouse of Chinarli at the opening of the Demir Kapu valley.

(4) At Mendoura: "a fair capacious Kane where are seven rude porphyry pillars thought to be of Trojan original[1]"; again "a large and convenient Kane which is more to be noted for its seven large pillars of course porphyry now employed to support the roof of this barbarous edifice but might possibly once stand in some Fabric of antient Troy from whence Mendoura is distant about ten hours." Wheler[2] is less complimentary, calling the khan "no better than a large Barn with a *Sopha* or Bank round the Wall of it within...and every eight, or ten foot distance a little chimney...this Khan is held up in the middle by Marble Pillars set confusedly on their *Corinthian* capitals of very curious Work[3]." Hadji Khalfa and Covel speak of two khans here. The khan at Mendoura has been destroyed by earthquakes. I only saw (1904) one or two of the "rude pillars" and small remains of the walls.

(5) At Sguimleskeui (between Courougueuljuk and Mendoura) "een groote Chan in het midden door acht groote ronde pilaren ondersteunt": Egmont attributes it probably on the warrant of an inscription to "Sultan Amurat," perhaps the second of the name (1422—1450)[4].

(6) At Gelembe Luke speaks of two khans: he describes them as (1) "A very strong building of stone with a partition wall through the length of it rebated at the ends that you may go round it, raised by Sultan Aladine. (2) Another hane of meaner Fabrick near the river more frequented by travellers[5]."

The scant remains of the second khan are now used as a warehouse. The old khan (Kara Khan) stands almost entire in the village street. It is entered from the south by an oblong porch, ashlar-faced, dome-vaulted, and measuring about 7·50 m.

[1] Chishull, 52. [2] p. 225. [3] Cf. Tournefort, 487.

[4] p. 189. Egmont was travelling with an Orientalist, so that the date may rest on something more than a local tradition.

[5] Hadji Khalfa, p. 483, also mentions two: the older building is noted by Chishull, p. 57, Prokesch, p. 182, Ouseley, p. 53.

broad by 4·50 long: the porch communicated with the street by a large slightly-pointed arch, and with the main building by a low segmental-headed doorway with joggled *voussoirs*: this is recessed in a larger arch of alternating tile and stone. The main hall measures about 26 m. long by 12·50 broad. It is built of rubble with squared quoins and a simply moulded string-course at the roof level: it had a low gable. The interior is divided into two barrel-vaulted aisles by a wall extending nearly from end to end in the axis of the building. Into this are built four pilasters with elaborately moulded capitals which correspond with pilasters in the outer walls: the wall is pierced by a doorway in the middle of the central bay. The half bay at the S. end is curiously vaulted with a small central dome flanked by two oblong quadripartite vaults.

If Luke read the (now vanished) inscription above the inner doorway correctly, it should refer to the Seljuk sultan who died 1301.

III. Pergamum —Cyzicus.

The course of the road is at present the crowning difficulty of Cyzicene topography: the country is difficult and insufficiently known, and any attempt at a solution of the problem must be considered as tentative. There is no official modern route for wheeled traffic across the watershed of Ida, the *chaussée* from Adramyt ending at Balia.

The Table lays down the road as follows: Pergamon, 35 Argesis, 30 Phemenio, — Cyzicus.

(1) *Argesis* is certainly Argiza, the site of which is definitely fixed by Dr Fabricius' inscription[1] at Balia Bazar on the upper Aesepus.

(2) *Phemenio* is evidently Poemanenum, and probably at this date the village settlement, which we have identified with Alexa, on the left bank of the lower Tarsius.

(3) Beyond this Galen[2] mentions a mining village on the road from Pergamum to Cyzicus (440 stades from the latter) called Ergasteria.

The most important mining town in this district is Balia, which is about the right distance from Cyzicus; its mines were

[1] III. 16. Cf. Wiegand, p. 273.

[2] *De Medicamentis Simplicibus*, IX. 127. Cf. Hierocles.

worked in antiquity[1]. The town lies on the head waters of the Tarsius, here quite a small stream and flowing in a comparatively open valley.

Argiza, however, also corresponds fairly well to the description, and on the evidence of the Table alone I should certainly place Poemanenum at Gunen, since it is obvious that, once at Argiza, the road must follow the Aesepus, just as, once arrived at Balia, it would naturally keep near the Tarsius valley: this latter is indeed the natural direct route from Pergamum to Cyzicus by way of the pass at Ivrindi; and there is some evidence of its having been adopted.

Two ancient bridges[2] are marked on Kiepert's map,

(*a*) below Ivrindi, and

(*b*) below Balia.

There are castles at

(*a*) Gumenidj[3], and

(*b*) a few miles below Balia.

We will assume, then, that an ancient road from Pergamum to Cyzicus passed through Balia. At the present time there are two chief lines of traffic between Panderma and Balia[4],

(1) by Gunen,

(2) by Ilidja.

Of these (1) is preferred by most travellers on account of the comparative comfort of a first stage by waggon and a night in Gunen: the second day's journey of 12—16 hours is made on horseback[5], either

(*a*) by Hodja Bunar, or

(*b*) by Urchanlar:

the whole journey (Panderma-Balia) can just be made in one long summer day.

[1] Munro, 169. There was a town near called Pericharaxis (*A.-E. Mitth.* XVIII. 228, etc.). Balia itself perhaps represents the Byzantine bishopric of Palaea (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 438).

[2] There are modern bridges at Hodja Afshar and Ismail bey (Cuinet, 70).

[3] *J.H.S.* XXI. 234.

[4] It must be remembered that Akchai, not Panderma, is the shipping port of Balia.

[5] The road is not impossible for vehicles, but the driver who has traversed it takes great credit to himself, his horses, and his conveyance.

Route (2) skirts the western shore of lake Manyas, passes through Hadji Pagon into the Kara-déré, crossing the river by ferry or ford according to season, and leaves the valley at Boghazkeui, just before it closes to the gorge: thence by Assar Alan, Ilidja, and Kaïlar to rejoin the valley above the gorge, and so beside the river to Balia. This road is throughout passable for vehicles, the only difficulties being the ascent from the valley at Boghazkeui and the descent into it at Kaïlar. From Hadji Pagon to Balia is reckoned twelve hours, while from Hadji Pagon to Panderma is said to take but four in fine weather.

An equally practicable road to Balukiser, much used by camels returning from Panderma, branches from the Hadji Pagon-Balia road at Assar Alan (three hours from Hadji Pagon), passes through Shamly and Dudar Chiftlik and reaches Balukiser in twelve hours from Hadji Pagon[1].

Evidence of an old route along these lines is to be found in the ruinous Byzantine castle at Assar Alan, and the series of Turkish stone bridges, resting very probably on earlier foundations, over the streams of the Manyas plain[2]. The road also connects the ancient sites at Alexa, Assar Alan and Ilidja.

The road on which Argiza stood was probably the route from Cyzicus to Adramyttium, by way of the Aesepus valley, which road survives in the "constantly used" track from Edremit through Bazar Keui by way of the lower Aesepus[3]. Even waiving the Poemanenum difficulty we are unable to combine the remains of the road about Balia with Argiza, the country between the two rivers being at this point almost impassable[4]. We can only conclude that Argiza was connected with the Pergamon road by a branch westward before Balia[5].

[1] This and the *chaussée* are the only araba roads between Panderma and Balukiser: there are horse paths by Eski Manyas and by Euren (Dere Yuruk Keui).

[2] Between Kazakkeui and Kulafly.

[3] *J.H.S.* XXI. 234. The course of the ancient road may be marked by the mediaeval ruins at Assar and Armudjuk Maden.

[4] *J.H.S.* XXI. 234.

[5] Professor Ramsay (*Hist. Geog.* 438) arrives at nearly the same conclusion, supposing a confusion of two roads both calculated from Pergamon to Cyzicus, viz.

(1) Pergamum, Ergasteria, Argiza, Poemanenum, Cyzicus,

(2) Pergamum, Adramyttium, Argiza, Poemanenum, Cyzicus,

i.e., that the roads from *Argiza* to *Cyzicus* were identical.

Aristides.

The journeys of Aristides may most appropriately be discussed in the section devoted to roads: the starting point of such a discussion is naturally the location of the orator's Mysian estates, whence his pilgrimages were made.

His estates.

The whereabouts of two of these can be determined with some certainty: these are

(1) His ancestral home, which was

(*a*) near the temple of Zeus Olympius (I. 499), and

(*b*) since he passed it on his way from the south to sacrifice on the top of the hill called Atys (I. 537), on the south side of this hill.

(2) An estate called Laneum, also south of the hill of Atys (I. 499) and near the temple of Zeus (I. 532). It was distinct from (1) since its recent purchase is specially mentioned (I. 532).

We may well assume that these two estates are the adjacent properties on a river mentioned in I. 546—7.

Further, (*a*) they were close to Hadrianutherae, which lay on Aristides' route south: (*b*) the road thither was liable to flood (I. 458), and probably, therefore, lay across the plain.

So much for the estates: we now turn to the journeys.

Route to Cyzicus.

(1) Aristides' journey to Cyzicus (55 miles) is made in the following stages (I. 537):

(*a*) to a village with hot springs, 35;

(*b*) to a village "by the lake" (of Manyas), 5.

(*c*) to Cyzicus, 15.

The hot springs, therefore, were twenty miles from Cyzicus and five from the lake: the only springs known to me satisfying these conditions[1] are those just south of the crossing of the

[1] Other hot springs in the district (enumerated by Cuinet, III. 756 and IV. 42 ff., who adds several analyses and temperatures) are

(*a*) Granicus valley:

(1) Buyuk Tepe Keui (remains, see also Kiepert's map and Inscr. IV. 60).

(2) Tcham Bazar Keui (Kiepert).

(3) Kara Ilidja; two and a half to three hours from Bighashehr on the road to Inova. The bath house is primitive and of recent construction: no cold water is laid on and the spring which supplies the bath is intolerably hot. It trickles from a tile-vaulted passage in

Kara-déré on the Panderma *chaussée* (near Ilidja Keui), marked *Hammam* in Kiepert's map[1].

I visited these springs in 1904, and found two ruinous old Turkish bath-houses a few hundred yards apart and a quarter of a mile from the road. They are plain square buildings with vaulted porches, constructed of squared stones with tile joints, and roofed with brick domes resting on octagonal drums. The furthest from the road is still in use, though very dirty: it is supplied by springs of very hot water which bubbles up also outside near the entrance: near by are remains of rubble foundations.

From the position of this spring it is apparent that Aristides' normal route to Cyzicus lay down the Macestus valley road.

the ante-chamber; by the stream, on the left bank of which the bath stands, are very extensive and massive rubble substructures. The bath is said to be much frequented in May, and a rough shanty has been constructed for bathers beside the bath house.

(*b*) Aesepus valley:
- (1) Gunen (see p. 103, wrongly placed by Cuinet).
- (2) Khydyrlar (*J.H.S.* XXI. 235).

(*c*) Karadere valley:
- (1) Dagh Ilidja, with ancient remains. Cf. Inscr. III. 25.
- (2) Spring at Balia, destroyed by mining operations.

(*d*) Macestus valley district:
- (1) Singherli, near Manyas. This spring is mentioned by Texier vaguely in *Asie Mineure*, 164, as "à la latitude du lac Manyas," and in *Univ. Pitt.* as "sur la route d'Edrenos (Hadrianutherae?) à Cyzique," and is presumably the one mentioned and described above.
- (2) Omerkeui (Munro, 164), with Byzantine remains.
- (3) Between Yildiz and Sultan Chair: ancient remains (cf. Munro, 160).
- (4) Cheïkler, near Gebsoun (the tepid spring near *Esheyler*, 1½ hours west of *Kebsud*?).
- (5) Yilanlar, near Yurukova, 20 k. from Balukisèr.
- (6) Near Eftele; the bath-house is an oblong rubble building about a mile from the village, roofed with two domes, and having an apse at the end opposite the door to accommodate the bathers' recessed seat. At the time of my visit the basin was flooded, as it commonly is when the river is high: consequently the water was cold and I could not examine the basin for marble. This spring is not mentioned by Cuinet. I visited it in 1906.
- (7) Kiraz, *nahié* of Avunia (east of Ivrindi on R. Kiepert's map?).
- (8) At Hissar near Bigaditch.

(*e*) Artaki. On the island of Kyra Panagia.

[1] Mentioned also by Mordtmann (*Ausland* 1855, 558).

A (liberal) 35 miles south from the Hammam brings us to the neighbourhood of Mendoura, which lies

(1) on a river,

(2) on the south side of a hill (Yilanly Dagh[1]) and

(3) in the plain of Balukiser.

Evidence points, then, to Mendoura or thereabouts as the position of these two properties.

We have next to deal with the scanty details of three other journeys:

Other journeys.

(2) To "the springs" and back, one day's journey of 30 miles (I. 489—90).

(3) From Cyzicus to a villa, evidently a third property, 50 miles: whence next day to Laneum (I. 538).

(4) From the temple of Zeus, two days' journey to the hot springs on the Aesepus (presumably at Gunen) by Poemanenum (I. 502—3). The only stage recorded is (from a point unknown) to Poemanenum, a long half day of twenty miles: from Poemanenum (Alexa) to Gunen is only about fifteen miles, and easy going, so that the first day's journey is evidently omitted. The natural route from the Balukiser plain to the Kara-déré is by the cross-road passing Shamly and joining the main Pergamum-Cyzicus road at or near Hissar Alan. "Twenty miles from Poemanenum" gives us a spot near Kiepert's "Dudar Chiftlik" as the starting place of Aristides' second day: this is also fifty miles from Cyzicus and fifteen from Ilidja, which is a hot spring known and used in antiquity, and apparently dedicated to Zeus Soter[2].

If, then, we assume that Aristides' villa was near Dudar Chiftlik—the fact that there is still a chiftlik on this site[3] removes all inherent improbability—we shall understand his calculating his journey thence to Poemanenum

A third property.

[1] It is perhaps appropriate to mention here the tomb of Aine Ali (*Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 316) as shewing the continued religious associations of the spot.

[2] Inscr. III. 25 = *Ath. Mitth.* 1904, 280. But it seems unnecessary to suppose with Dr Wiegand that this shrine was identical with Aristides' favourite temple of Zeus Olympius. The orator's epigram, dedicated in the precinct of Zeus, was found at Balukiser itself, and Zeus Olympius figures on the coins of Hadrianutherae.

[3] It is now ruined, but Mordtmann was entertained there by the local dere-bey.

without troubling to mention the first stage between his two homes, a distance which he also omits in describing his journey from Cyzicus by way of the villa to Laneum (I. 538). This villa is described again in I. 499, as "fairly near" the Aesepus springs. However risky the argument, we shall by this assumption obtain a consistent hypothesis for Aristides' journeys, agreeing with what is known of the road-system.

PART II.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XIV.

POPULATION.

THE population of the southern shore of the Propontis has always been of a mixed character: owing to its natural resources, especially suited for an agricultural folk, and its position separated from Europe by only a few miles of sea, the country has attracted, and attracts to-day, immigrants from many parts of both continents; so that the earliest possessors whose names have come down to us, if we except the purely fabulous giants—a creation naturally suggested by the fantastic outlines of a volcanic country—have the reputation of being settlers from elsewhere.

Thus the Doliones of the country about Cyzicus were Thessalian Pelasgians; the Mysians, from whom the greater part of the country under consideration took its name, were reputed of Thracian descent, though they had already in the heroic age of the Telephus myth penetrated to the Caicus valley: the Phrygians, whose settlements were among those of the Mysians, and the Bithynians of the country beyond the Rhyndacus, were again Thracians, and the Greeks were comparatively new-comers when they planted their great colonies in the eighth century B.C. The Roman dominion, opening up the world by its road system, and thus encouraging intercommunication and travel, added to the confusion of races not only Latin blood, but the mixed stock of its numerous slave and freedman class.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his account of the themes

still recognises Mysians, Phrygians and Graeci in this portion of the Obsequian, and the crusading writers shew that Armenians were already in the Troad, and Italians on the coast of the Propontis (noticeably at Pegae)[1], by the opening of the thirteenth century. The rule of Islam has brought still more heterogeneous elements together; to-day within a few hours of Cyzicus are settled Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Circassians, Rumelians, Macedonian and Bulgarian Christians, Cossacks and Tartars; newly settled Yuruks may be found in the upland villages, and wholly-nomad Gypsies are always to be seen on the roads.

Doliones.

Of the earliest inhabitants—the Pelasgian Doliones—we know little or nothing, save that they were generally regarded as a Thessalian tribe which immigrated under pressure of Aeolian invasion to the Hellespont[2]. One of their settlements was founded by Cyzicus (or his father) on the south shore of the then island and took his name. Another account seems to have reckoned them among the Mysians of the Olympus country[3].

The Dolionis or Dolionia is defined by Strabo[4] as extending from the Aesepus to the Rhyndacus and the lake of Dascylium, beyond which was the country of the Mygdones. Alexander Aetolus[5] defines it as "the country about Cyzicus as you go to Miletupolis." Cyzicus was included in it and Stephanus mentions a town of Scyrmus in the Dolionid: it was probably the Doliones who founded the Pelasgian colonies of Placia, Scylace, and Besbicus. We have record also of a tribe called Macries[6] who were Pelasgian neighbours of the Doliones claiming Euboean origin[7]. Strabo says that the Doliones were not to be distinguished from the Mysians, Bithynians and Phrygians, and were probably of Thracian descent. All these were evidently village folk, and never attained a high degree of civilisation.

[1] Cf. Ansbert, p. 80, Nicet. Chon. 795 B. See also Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, II. 181, 188.

[2] Conon. ap. Phot. 139, Bekker.

[3] Alex. Aetolus ap. Str. 566, 681.

[4] 575.

[5] Ap. Str. 681.

[6] Ap. Rh. I. 1024, Schol.; cf. I. 1112, II. 396.

[7] 564.

Mysians.

The Mysians[1] again were commonly regarded as northern immigrants and the Mysian Olympus was pointed out as their earliest home in Asia. Homer[2] certainly associates them with the Thracians, while Herodotus[3] represents the southern Mysians who shared the Carian temple as kinsmen of the Lydians and Carians; which shews at least that they early passed into southern Asia Minor and had religious ideas in common with the Asiatics. Their language was a mixture of Lydian and Phrygian[4]. We are concerned, however, only with that portion of their territory which lay along the southern shore of the Propontis (from Bithynia to the Aesepus) to quote Strabo's[5] limits, and was practically, therefore, co-extensive with the Dolionid. Here, too, they were so intermingled with the Phrygians that "the boundaries of the Mysians and Phrygians" had become a proverb[6]. The cause of the confusion was, as Strabo says, that they were still in a semi-nomadic state as well, probably, as immigrants of various dates. They would probably have no definite territory but rather scattered allotments, as the Rumelians and Circassians have to-day, in the various districts where the land lay open to them.

The vagueness extends also to the naming of the different parts of the country under discussion. Thus Phrygia Epictetus, though generally to be referred rather to the Bithynian end of the Propontis[7], is occasionally identified with Lesser (Hellespontine) Phrygia[8] or includes it[9]; while Hellespontine Phrygia may be extended to include the Troad[10] and the Olympene[11].

[1] The authorities for the Mysians in general are collected by Cramer, *Geog.* I. 30. The race apparently kept its identity in the wilder parts till the second century at least, for Aristides mentions them near Hadrianutherae (I. 532, Dind.). Porphyrogenitus assigns to them the inland parts, south of Olympus, and the coast plains to the Phrygians and Graeci (*De Them.* p. 25 B.).

[2] *Il.* XIII. 5. [3] I. 171. Cf. Plin. V. 41?

[4] Steph. Byz. s.v. Μυσία. Cf. also Hdt. VII. 74, where they are called Λυδῶν ἄποικοι.

[5] 564. [6] Str. 564; cf. Photius 345, Bekker.

[7] Str. 534, 567, 576, 625—in 564 it is said not to touch the seaboard.

[8] Str. 543, 563. Ducas curiously calls *Karassi* Φρυγία ἡ μεγάλη or ἡ κάτω, 13, 72 B.

[9] Str. 571. [10] *Ib.* 129; cf. Ptol. V. 2. [11] Str. 543.

The co-extensive lesser Mysia[1] (as opposed to the Mysia of the Caicus valley) is called indifferently Hellespontine[2] or Olympene[3].

West of the Aesepus, which is generally reckoned the boundary of the Troad, we are in the territory of the old Trojan civilisation; the *ἐὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον* of Zeleia is the first of the walled burgs. Here, too, we are on the outskirts of the reputed Aeolian colonization: it was said[4] that Archelaus with his followers had prospected first in the Rhyndacus country, and Gras about the Granicus, to which he gave its name: he then crossed with the greater part of his force to Lesbos. There is no tangible evidence to be found of an Aeolian settlement in either place: the idea may have been suggested by the similarity of certain names, apparently native, but peculiar to the Cyzicus district and to the Aeolid[5].

So much for the ancient inhabitants. Of the modern population the Greeks, generally speaking, occupy the islands and coast, though small trading communities are settled in all the considerable towns.

Modern: (1) Greeks.

In contradistinction to these there is a considerable inland area about Brusa with a Greek village-population; this population is divided into Turkish- and Greek-speaking villages[6], the former being reputed the oldest. The Greek-speaking communities in many cases preserve traditions of their immigration from Europe: they seem to be settlements dating from early Turkish times devised to reinforce the depleted population of the district after the long wars. In many cases they appear to have been introduced as serf or *métayer* populations on imperial or other estates, but their history depends as a rule on oral tradition alone. That

[1] For Hellespontine Phrygia included the Hellespontine and Olympene Mysians (Str. 566).

[2] Ptol. v. 2. [3] Str. 571. [4] Str. 582.

[5] We may cite Sigriane, Sigrene in the Troad, Sigrion in Lesbos, Eresi in Mysia (Plin. v. 33) and Eresos in Lesbos, Perperina near Parium (Theodor. Stud. *Lett.* l. 3) and Perperene, *ὁδὸς Μαλέων* (*Vit. Scti Philetaeri*, 19 May), in the Sigriane and Malia (cf. Malaus) in Lesbos, Macestum in Lesbos and Macestus in Mysia. Arisbe is also common to the Troad and Lesbos.

[6] To the former class belong Derekeui, Tachtali, Tepejik, Kilessen, Susurlu, Tansara, Ainesi: to the latter Demirdesh, Kouvouklia, Misopoli, Anachori.

of Kouvouklia is typical and the obtainable information at least coherent.

Kouvouklia is a very large village about ten miles west of Brusa containing 430 families, all Greek and Greek-speaking: it is the site of a Byzantine castle mentioned once by Pachymeres[1] and now entirely destroyed. The villagers are said to be the descendants of Peloponnesian immigrants settled in the time of Sultan Suleïman the Magnificent (1520—66) as serfs on the lands of the local derebey Karadja Oghlu. The serfs gradually acquired land, and at the death of the last derebey (about sixty years ago[2]) without a direct heir were left in possession after a long lawsuit, the lands of the derebey being not *mulk* or freehold but *vakouf* or mosque-property let out[3]. The mosque in the case of Kouvouklia is that of Khudavendkiar at Brusa, to which the villagers still pay 960 kilés of wheat yearly[4].

West of Brusa the Greek village of Yalichiftlik claims a similar origin. It is said to be the youngest of the settlements and to have been founded by prisoners taken after Orloff's expedition: the last is extremely doubtful, but the change from farm (chiftlik) to village has evidently come about as in the other places. According to some accounts the chiftlik was an Imperial property, possibly the *grand palais qui était à Bajazet* mentioned by Boucicaut in 1399[5].

[1] Pachy. VII. 9, p. 580 (1308).

[2] The Karadja Oghlu are mentioned as a powerful Brusa family in the early 19th century by von Hammer (*Reise nach Brussa*, p. 1).

[3] The Turkish law regarding *vakouf* allows the holding of such lands at a nominal rent only so long as the lessee's family continues direct within certain degrees: these are indicated in Young's *Corps de droit Ottoman*, I. 318, xix.

[4] These details were supplied me by M. P. Papadopoulos, a native of the village. He tells me the documents recording the settlement are preserved in the library of Bayezid II.'s mosque at Constantinople; further that in the compilation of a vocabulary of the dialect he has found the dialect of Gortynia (Arcadia) remarkably like that of his native place. Some of the specimen words he gave me, however (ποιῶ=do, κάμνω (not κάνω, which=καλλιεργῶ), πικάζω=νομίζω, κρούω=κτυπάω) are rather against the Peloponnesian tradition, while others (e.g. κρίνω, κριτήριον for κουβεντιάζω, κουβέντα) are common throughout the district. The strongly-marked pronunciation of κ before ἐ-sounds as *ch* is usual in the district and, I believe, not known in Peloponnese outside Maina.

[5] Ed. Buchon § 249, cf. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV. siècle*, p. 370 and above p. 55.

The large village of Demirdesh one hour north of Brusa, though not strictly within our area, is noteworthy as a similar foundation. The villagers say they were imported to work the lands of a certain Demir-Tash, pasha of Brusa and vizir. These lands also were originally *vakouf* but have long become *mulk*. The Demirdesiotes have various traditions as to their origin; Kleonymos says they are from various parts of Greece chiefly Peloponnese[1]. I was told by the schoolmaster (1907) that they were originally from Agrapha, their numbers being added to by a later influx of Epirotes; the oldest inhabitant affirmed that they were Mainotes from the Sparta neighbourhood and gave the date of the settlement as 380 years ago. The dialect is conspicuous in the district, and confirms the north-Greek rather than the Peloponnesian tradition. If, as is probable, Demirtash Pasha is the historical Timourtash, vizir of Murad I., the village may be descended from captives of his various campaigns in Macedonia and Peloponnese[2].

Two further groups of villages west of Brusa come under the same category, the Agraphiotika and the Pistika. Of the former there are three or four villages about the Nilufer[3]. I have heard little of them except that their women still wear skirts while all their neighbours wear *shalvars*. They are as their name implies from the Agrapha district of Thessaly; their dialect is said to be much corrupted by Turkish.

The Pistika (*τὰ Πιστικὰ χώρια*) are nine in number and lie between Brusa and Mihallitch; the inhabitants claim Mainote origin but have little idea where Maina is. The names of the villages with their present populations[4] are:

Bashkeui or *Βουλγαράτοι*	150 houses
Karajobba or *Χωροῦδα*	50 „

[1] p. 152 *ἐκ τῶν μέρων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου.*

[2] See Hammer-Hellert I. 268, I. 160. He campaigned in Macedonia (*ib.* 249) and in 1397 took Argos (*ib.* 516) taking 30,000 prisoners to Asia (*Chron. Breve*): in 1385 he carried off many prisoners from the district of Arta (*Chronicle of Janninа* in Leake, *N.G.* IV. 558).

[3] Kleonymos (p. 98) gives Tchambaz, Tchamba, Tcheshneir (*Τζεινεγλρ*) and Akchebounar. The schoolmaster at Tchatal gave me Tchambaz (30 houses), Tchamlidja (120) and Tcheshneir (90) only.

[4] From the schoolmaster at Tchatal.

Tchatal-aghil or Κωνσταντινάτοι	60	houses
Kemerient or Καμαριωτάτοι (Ἁγία Κυριακὴ)[1]	120	„
Ekisje or Ἀγινάτοι	150	„
Karakodja or Κύδια	200	„
Subashi or Πελαδάτοι	150	„
Serian or Σιριγιάννη	50	„
Kermikir or Πριμικήριον	40	„

Of these the first five lie about the Brusa road not far from Apollonia, the remaining four nearer Mihallitch. They are subject ecclesiastically to the bishop of Nicomedia[2], whose representative resides at Aboulliond.

Constantinati is mentioned already in 1577 by Gerlach[3], the commune of nine villages first by Covel[4] just a hundred years later: as to their origin he was informed by the landlord at Tchatal that "*at the first conquest of these places by the Turke* nine villages all hereabouts were made a Beghiluck [Beylik] to provide cattle and sheep for the Seraglio, and they were under the G. S^rs^ immediate protection, yet they all pay haratch. They were ordered to wear a particular sort of hat or cap and none were to molest them: they enjoy their privilege much still but want the Emperour's presence and the court."

The nine villages are barely mentioned by Turner at the beginning of the 19th century[5], but MacFarlane in 1847[6] devotes a good deal of attention to them. He first heard of them through a Greek pedlar who told him the original villages had been settled each by a Mainote rebel, transported to Constantinople for execution and there pardoned by the good

[1] These are marked as separate villages by von Diest (*Karte des Westlichen Kleinasiens*, 1903), but the position of A. Kyriaki is "uncertain," being derived from the map in Kandis' Προῦσα.

[2] The frontier line of the Nicomedian tract is roughly shewn on Kandis' map. The country would naturally belong of course to Brusa: I could obtain no explanation of the anomaly from the bishop's representative at Nicomedia.

[3] *Türckisches Tagebuch* (1674) 258. "3 kleinen Griechischen Dörfern nur von Leynen, Stroh, und wenig Holz ausgefuhrt, Constantinati, Typota, S. Theodoro [Tachtali?]."

[4] Add. MS. 22,912 f. 263 vso.

[5] *Tour in the East* (1820), III. 149.

[6] *Turkey and her Destiny*, I. 405, II. 537. The book is full of information of this kind derived from the author's friend J. Zohrab of Brusa.

offices of the Sultan's mother[1], who gave each family 200 sheep from which they paid a yearly tribute in lambs or money. The settlement is dated to the reign of "the unfortunate Sultan Selim [1787—1807] about the beginning of the present century," which is of course impossible[2].

The second account he had from a priest at Bashkeui who said the Pistikoi were Mainotes from the Sparta district: the original families were transported under Sultan Achmet[3] about 150 years ago: they still refused to intermarry except with their own people, and derived the name Πιστικὸς from πιστὸς (i.e. Christian). MacFarlane himself remarks on their skill in agriculture, sedate manners, and the wearing of petticoats by their women.

Kleonymos and Pappadopoulos write of the Pistika in 1867[4] as follows:

"Pistikos is the name given by the inhabitants of Maina in the Peloponnese to shepherds. These villages were so called on account of the shepherds who about three centuries ago migrated into the district of the Rhyndacus and Apollonia. These people herded the flocks of a Turkish bey, and even now they call the district Τζοβὰν-κηρὶ[5]. The immigration from Peloponnesus is attested not only by the elder men among them, but also by their customs and dialect. As time went on they grew numerous and founded villages, paying taxes to successive Beys, till the time of the lamented Sultan Mahmoud, since which they have been recognised as Turkish subjects."

To the question of date we shall return. Both MacFarlane's dates are proved wrong by Gerlach and Covel's references, and the correct one lies between Covel and Kleonymos.

The Mainote origin of the Pistika is hard to substantiate. The name, though rightly interpreted by Kleonymos as *shepherd*,

[1] This romantic episode occurs in all versions of the story I have read or heard except that of Kleonymos.

[2] In the author's diary (Add. MS. 22,430) only the Sultan's name appears: Selim the *first* reigned 1512—1520, a much more likely date.

[3] *Hamit* in the MS.

[4] Βιθυνικά, p. 97.

[5] Tk. *Choban* = shepherd.

is far from being an exclusively Mainote word[1]. The language seems very corrupt, the only song I was able to collect was nearly half Turkish, and the Mainote songs which Tozer found current both at Gythion and in the Corsican Mainote colonies[2] were unknown. The characteristic Mainote *ch* for κ[3] does not occur, which is the more remarkable as it is common in the surrounding villages. The loud voice characteristic of Maina was conspicuously absent and the people as MacFarlane remarked are more "dour" than the average Greek.

Further the names of the villages are by no means characteristic of Maina, and point rather to North Greece: *-άται* is a common termination in Suli[4] and *-άτα* in Kephallenia, where almost exclusively occurs the family name in *-άτος*[5].

The modern costume gives us no help, being but a very slight variation of that worn by neighbouring villages—dark blue or brown braided jacket and baggy knee breeches, broad red belt, coarse white stockings and sandals: the villagers are recognisable by their physique and often distinguished by a black rag worn round the fez: the women wear *shalvars* even on state occasions, and marriage outside the nine villages is not unusual. A further argument against the Mainote origin is to be found in the custom of "churching" women the second Sunday (fifteen days) after marriage, not the first as is the custom in this district and in Maina itself.

I believe the supposed Mainote descent based on an ignorant use of the word Roumania. In a version of the tradition obtained

[1] Πιστικός, Μπιστικὸς is at least as old as the 13th century (cf. Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v.) and not a local word at all.

[2] *J. H. S.* III. 354 sqq., *Journ. Phil.* VI. 196 ff. These colonies date from 1673, see Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, V. 116—7, and for a bibliography Meliarakis' Νεοελληνικὴ Γεωγραφικὴ Φιλολογία, p. 99.

[3] Tozer in *J. H. S.* III. 360. "Cargese and Vitylo pronounce *ἐκεῖ* as *etchi*, as far as my observation goes, not found in Peloponnese outside Maina." The "Pistikos" have a peculiarity in pronouncing *σ* before *ι* as *sh* *εἴκοσι*, *Tavash* (Ἀθανάσιος) etc.

[4] Leake, *Northern Greece*, I. 502.

[5] From material kindly supplied me by Dr Klon Stephanos I am able to state that no village name in *-άτοι* exists in Free Greece. Family names in *-ατος* occur, but very rarely, in Maina. Curiously enough there was in Byzantine times a village called *τῶν Μαρυκάτων κώμη* near the lake of Apollonia (*Synax. Cp.* Nov. 4, *Vita Joanicii* cf. Dec. 15: *Vita Pauli junioris* οἱ τοῦ Μαρυκάτου τόποι).

for me by Mr E. Gilbertson, H.M.'s vice-consul at Brusa, who knows the people well, the founders of the colony were said to be brigands from Roumania apprehended in the neighbourhood of Brusa. The modern *Roumania* is of course not necessarily implied; the Turkish *Rumili* is meant. The confusion with Maina, and the intrusion of the name of Sparta, a new town and not really in the Mainote district, are probably subsequent to Orloff's expedition if not to the Revolution. The probabilities are that the villages we have been discussing were all founded under the early Sultans to replace the losses suffered by the country in the later Byzantine period: a settled and well-tilled countryside was especially necessary when the court was at Brusa. Moreover the transference of unruly populations was a policy of the early Sultans[1].

Other reputed immigrant Greek villages are Kurshunlu (Kara-dagh) said to be partly Macedonian (a few families still speak a Bulgarian dialect) and partly from Aivali (refugees of 1821?), and Vatica or Musatcha[2]—presumably with the similarly isolated Hautcha-Chavutzi—on the Aesepus. These are said by M. Philendas, himself a native of their market-town Artaki, and by Professor M. Constantinides to be colonists from the Laconian Vatica (now Neapolis) and to speak the Tzakonian dialect. If the latter statement is true the villages must be of considerable age (a church at Chavutzi bears the date 1675) since Tzakonian has long ceased to be spoken so far south as Vatica[3]. Others, however, have told me that they speak "the dialect of Hydra" which implies Albanian descent. "Musatcha" seems indeed to be the Albanian name for a marshy plain such as the village actually occupies, and St Blancard's note further strengthens this view.

[1] Cf. the transportation of the population of Argos to Asia, Chalcon. 30, and conversely Κονιάριδες settled in Thessaly, Leake, *North. Greece*, I. 144, III. 174, 357, IV. 327, 419. St Blancard (in Charrière, *Nég. de la France*, I.) writes in 1538 of the country round Bigha ("lequel pays estoit inhabité"); "le grand seigneur y a mis et faict venir d'Esclavons, Albanois, et Serviens quand les eust conquestes; il faict ainsy en plusieurs contrées pour mémoire de ses victoires et pour mesler les langues."

[2] The Avatha (τὰ Βάτικα) of Pococke's map.

[3] See W. M. Leake, *Researches*, p. 196, who quotes Crusius. The dialect is now restricted to the immediate neighbourhood of Leonidi.

(2) Armenians.

The Armenians are the bankers, substantial merchants and shopkeepers in the towns, and have, so far as I know, only one distinct village—Ermeni-keui in the Cyzicene peninsula. It is first mentioned by Prokesch (1831) and not marked in Pococke's map. The Armenian colony in Panderma is partly at least from Smyrna; though tradition has it that the greater part is of Gipsy (Tchengen) origin. Armenians are mentioned in the Troad by the chroniclers of Barbarossa's expedition.

(3) Macedonians and Bulgarians.

The Macedonian[1] and Christian (Greek-speaking) Bulgar[2] settlements are said to be 150 years old[3]; the latter retain their picturesque national dress. Their women, who are remarkable for their fine figures and free carriage, still wear embroidered petticoats, not *shalvars*, to the great scandal of the Turks. The Pomak villages[4] date from the war of 1878.

(4) Cossacks.

The Cossack colonies on the lake of Manyas[5], of which MacFarlane gives a long and interesting account, are about a hundred[6] years old. They are themselves the offshoot of a colony on the Danube, retain their native (Russian) language and dress, and are Christians by religion.

(5) Rumelians. (6) Circassians. (7) Albanians.

The Rumelians (Muhajirs[7]) and Circassians, who constitute the roughest and least civilised element, are yearly increasing: they are located either in separate villages or in outlying quarters of towns. The Albanian (Gheg) shepherds are settled about Mihallitch in

[1] Yappaji keui, Yeni keui in the Cyzicene peninsula, Hadji Pagon on the Kara-déré.

[2] Hodja Bunar, Yeni Keui on the Kara-déré: at the former a few families are said still to use a Bulgarian dialect.

[3] This is probably a mere guess. Villages of "unbelievers" in the district of Manyas are mentioned in the *Kanun-nameh* given by Hammer, *Oth. Staatsverf.* I. 281.

[4] In the plains of Bigha and Gunen: they are Mohammedan Bulgars.

[5] The lake at Sardis is also fished by Cossacks.

[6] Hamilton dates the immigration after the Russian capture of Ismail (1790 or 1812?), Turner in 1810, MacFarlane 39 years before his visit, *i.e.* 1808, a second colony having come in 1833 (p. 480).

[7] The word in itself signifies merely immigrants, but is applied especially to the Rumelians. The town-dwelling Muhajirs form a large proportion of the local araba-drivers.

force, and employed elsewhere on sheep farms[1]. There are traces also of an older immigration of Christian Albanians, especially in the islands. Palerne (1600) mentions them in Halone, and Covel says that the whole of the island of Marmora except its chief town was peopled by them. This is borne out by Buondelmonti's account of the island: in his time there was only one town (Marmara) in the island, the rest being waste, while Kalolimno, where in Covel's day at least there was a village Ἀρβανιτοχώρι, is described as without population. The village of the same name near Mudania is however no earlier than the eighteenth century[2].

The following figures (from Cuinet) give some idea of the distribution of the races forming the population, though the Musulman element must have increased disproportionately lately owing to immigration:

Cazas	Moham.	Greek	Arm.	Bulg.	Jews	Foreigners§ and various
Mihallitch	43,953	16,051	3,218	—	73	149
Kermasti	36,429	1,148*	887*	—	80*	—
Balukiser	103,624	2,351	1,941*	1577†	—	36*
Erdek	5,418	54,467	706	—	492‡	196
Gunen	25,001	1,854	13	15	4	—
Panderma	50,594	5,914	5,860	—	—	1,120
Bigaditch	12,771	34*	—	—	—	—
Bigha	40,749	3,745	241	—	—	—

* All in the chief town. † Musulman refugees (Muhadjirs).

‡ Chiefly in the village of Marmara.

§ The term includes of course many natives who have foreign passports for convenience.

[1] Many are summer migrants from European Turkey, who cross into Asia from Gallipoli and fatten their flocks on the Mysian plains for the Constantinople market, shipping eventually from Panderma.

[2] von Hammer, *Reise nach Brussa*, p. 1.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ARGONAUTIC LEGEND.

THE foundation of the city by the eponymous King Cyzicus and his Thessalian followers is dated by the *Chronicon Paschale*[1] "thirty-four years after the foundation of Ilium." In spite of this traditional date and the attempts, which we shall notice in passing, to bring the history of Cyzicus into the Trojan cycle, neither the town of Cyzicus nor the Doliones appear as Trojan allies in Homer. King Cyzicus is however the central figure in an episode of the Argonautic expedition. Of this episode we have no very ancient account, that of Apollonius[2] being the oldest and the most valuable. He drew, like his scholiasts, on earlier writers, notably on Deiochus of Proconnesus (*περὶ Κυζίκου*), and Neanthes of Cyzicus (*ὧροι Κυζικηνῶν*)[3]. It is important to remark that both authorities are local, which accounts for Apollonius' detailed topography, a feature not found in the later authors: we may also rely on the inverse application of his aetiological explanations to throw some light on the Cyzicene archaeology and topography of Hellenistic times.

[1] p. 80.

[2] *Argonautica* I. 956–1153. Of the other accounts those of Conon, Valerius Flaccus, the Orphica, and Cedrenus are discussed below. Cf. also Apollod. *Bibl.* I. 9. 18. 30; Hygin. *Fab.* XVI.; Parthen. *Erot.* XXVIII.; Ov. *Trist.* I. 10. 30; Sil. Ital. 12. 398; Cramer, *Anecd. Paris.* II. 194; Joh. Ant. frag. 15; Cyzicus and Jason? on sarcophagus; Robert, *Ant. Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II. 213, pl. lxiv.; *Berl. Sculp.* 843 b, p. 531; Heracles and Cyzicus on vase? *Arch. Zeit.* IX. 306, pl. 27 ("ein modernes Machwerk," Pauly, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, s.v. "Argonautae," p. 779); G. Knaack, *De Fabulis nonnullis Cyzicenis*, and R. Walther, *De Ap. Rh. Arg. rebus Geogr.* (Diss.) Halle, 1881, pp. 37–48; Myres in *J.H.S.* XXVII. 222 ff.

[3] For all that is known of these two writers see Marquardt, p. 163 ff. Neanthes wrote under Attalus I.

Apollonius calls the Kapu Dagh an island[1] yet twice refers to an isthmus[2], by which he probably means the long spit of land stretching towards the shore where the causeway was afterwards to be made[3], for the Argonauts evidently sailed through the channel. Between the isthmus and the promontory of S. Simeon (the *ἄκραι ἀμφίδυμοι* of the poet) lay the harbour and town of Cyzicus.

On the Arctonnesus dwelt two races in harmony, on the mountains the monstrous six-handed giants, on the isthmus and the plain the Doliones ruled by their King Cyzicus, son of Aeneus and Aenete daughter of Eusorus, King of Thrace. The Argo first touched at the western side of the island, where by the Artacian spring[4] they left their anchor stone[5]. Cyzicus and his folk welcomed them and bade them moor their ship in the harbour of the city, Chytus, where they built an altar and sacrificed to Apollo[6]. Food was set before them by Cleite, the newly-married wife of Cyzicus, who is represented as the daughter of Merops of Percote, a Homeric hero whose sons ruled in Adrasteia and fought in the Trojan war[7]. They then ascended Dindymon, "by the way called Jasonian to this day," leaving the Argo drawn up on the beach in charge of Heracles. An isolated episode follows, of no value to the story, but perhaps accounting for natural features in the harbour of Cyzicus, to the effect that in the heroes' absence the giants came and tried

[1] 936. [2] 938, 947.

[3] Strabo (682) uses the same word of the headlands of Cyprus.

[4] This I believe to be not the well above Artaki (*J.H.S.* XXII. 179) but the spring which flows from between the two hexagonal towers.

[5] It was afterwards preserved in the Prytaneum (Plin. XXXVI. 23), and seems from the care with which its attempts to run away were frustrated, to have been some kind of a fetish stone with which the luck of the city was bound up. There was another "Argonauts' anchor" at Ancyraeum (Dionys. Byz. *Anaplus Bosp.* Frag. 54). Such remnants of barbaric cultus are commonly associated for propriety's sake with orthodox legend, cf. the stone of Rhea at Proconnesus and the Zeus Kappotas of Laconia (Paus. III. 21). Mooring stones, like Fetish stones, were frequently conical in shape (see Dragatsis in *Congr. Intern. Archéol.* Athens, 1905, p. 202).

[6] Cf. I. 1185, and Dionys. Byz. *Anaplus Bosp.* Frag. 8.

[7] According to another account, Cyzicus' wife was Larisa, daughter of Piasus, a Thessalian. Parthenius, *loc. cit.* § 28, see Euphorion ap. Sch. Ap. Rh. 1063, who says that Larisa was betrothed to Cyzicus. Neanthes (*ibidem*) said he left a son of the same name.

to block the mouth of the harbour with stones, but Heracles slew them with his arrows.

The heroes on their return put to sea with a fair wind: but in the night it changed and they were unwittingly carried back to the island, but naturally to the *eastern* side: there is no mention of Artaki or of Chytus, only of a rock called Sacred—possibly the point beyond Yeni Keui, where there is a small landing-place—to which they moored. The Doliones, taking them for their neighbours, the Makries[1], attacked them, and the Argonauts in the dark slew Cyzicus[2] and several of his chiefs. The mistake was discovered at dawn: the Argonauts mourned with the Doliones, instituted games in Cyzicus' honour, and built him a tumulus "on the Leimonian plain"—perhaps the tumulus just south of the road from Panderma to Aidinjik[3].

Cleite in her grief hanged herself[4], and from her tears the nymphs made a spring, afterwards called Cleite, after her—not, I think, the *stream* so called by Perrot, which rises far out of the city, above Yappaji-keui: streams, too, are almost invariably personified as males. Cleite may have been identical with the *Fons Cupidinis* of Pliny[5], which, being a reputed cure for love, is appropriately associated with a love tragedy.

For twelve days after the Argonauts were wind-bound, till Mopsus by his augury[6] foretold that they must appease the

[1] The Makries were supposed to be Pelasgians from Euboea, the same race that had ousted the Thessalian folk of Cyzicus. Sch. Ap. Rh. 1024. Sch. 1. 1037 says that this was Deilochus' version. Callisthenes says that the Cyzicenes attacked the Argonauts out of hatred. Cf. Conon.

[2] He fell by the hand of Jason. Others said (1) of the Dioscuri (Sch. Ap. Rh. 1. 1040) or (2) of Heracles (*Orphica*, 527). Cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* XVI. and the forged vase from Chiusi (*Arch. Zeit.* IX. 306).

[3] Figured by Wiegand, p. 285. There are many more of these in the district, *e.g.* Kurshunlu-tepe on the Kara Dagh, Ishem-bair near Ergileh, and several in the neighbourhood of Kazakli. They are said to contain slab-built chambers. Such must have been the Tomb of Memnon on the Aesepus and the *τάφος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ* of the Milesian inscription. Relics of the prehistoric period may be found in the pottery from Panderma figured by Wiegand; I procured a fine neolithic axe, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, at the same place.

[4] Deilochus said she died of grief, Sch. Ap. Rh. 1. 1063. Euphorion said Larisa was hanged by her father. *Ibid.*

[5] Plin. XXX. 16. Isid. *Origg.* XIII. 13. 3. Meletius, *Bith.* IV. 4.

[6] Other accounts (Cedrenus) say the Apollo of *Πύθια Θερμά*.

Great Mother: they then loosed from the Sacred Rock and rowed to the Thracian harbour, whence they ascended the mountain. Argos carved the image (*βρέτας*) of the goddess and set it up on a hill[1], while the heroes called on Mother Dindymene and Titias and Cyllenus with her, and beat their swords upon their shields[2] to drown the ill-omened wailing for Cyzicus in the town below. Dindymene as a sign that her anger was appeased made a spring (afterwards called Jasonian) come forth from the ground, and sent them a favouring wind.

Conon's account[3] is coloured by the politics of Hellenistic Greece. Cyzicus, here a son of Apollo, was driven with his people from his Thessalian home by Aeolians. In Asia he contracted a politic marriage with Cleite, daughter of Merops, king of the Rhyndacus country; when the Argonauts landed, his people set on them as soon as they knew the ship was from Thessaly, and Cyzicus, attempting to stop the battle, was slain by Jason[4]. There is no mention of Cybele. Cyzicus leaving no heir, the government passed to an aristocratic oligarchy, who were evicted by the Tyrrhenians, and these in turn by the Milesians.

The account of Valerius Flaccus[5] is thoroughly romanized and has no local colour. The story is briefly—The Argonauts are welcomed by Cyzicus and Cleite, with Vergilian rhetoric and properties, and entertained for three days; after which they set sail. Cyzicus incurs the anger of Rhea, by slaying one of her lions, a piece of stage machinery regularly employed for this purpose, and convenient as justifying the death of Cyzicus. Meanwhile the Argonauts set sail, and are driven back to the island; the Cyzicenes, who take them for Pelasgian enemies, attack and are slain in large numbers before the mistake is discovered. Cyzicus himself is killed by Jason, and Cleite bewails him in the words of Andromache. Cyzicus is awarded a sumptuous funeral and the Argonauts give themselves up to

[1] There is no definite mention of a temple.

[2] The origin, according to Apollonius, of the tympana used in the worship of Rhea. Cf. Propert. III. 22. 3.

[3] Ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 139, Bekker.

[4] Cf. Deilochus and Ephorus and Kallisthenes, ap. Sch. Ap. Rh. I. 1037.

[5] *Arg.* II. 635—III. 459.

grief till, on the advice of Mopsus, the "ignota numina divum" (the gods of the underworld) are appeased by the sacrifice of two black ewes and a *lustramen* is performed on the Aesepus, whither Jason apparently walks from Cyzicus.

In the account of the pseudo-Orpheus (4th c. A.D.?) the circumstances of the death of Cyzicus are again slightly different, and the construction is clumsy. The Argonauts land, dedicate the anchor-stone to Athena, and are welcomed by Cyzicus: the mountain folk, who are six-handed monsters like the Cyclopes and giants, attack the Argo by night; the heroes beat them off with great slaughter—apparently a fusion of the Heracles' adventure of Apollonius, with the fight of the Pelasgians: Cyzicus, for an unexplained reason, is slain among the Giants by Heracles[1]. The Argonauts then put to sea, but Rhea will not let them go. Athena appears to Tiphys and explains: at her command they propitiate the ghost, and bury the body in a slab-grave under a tumulus, while Argos carves the image and builds a stone temple. Rhea sends a fair wind, they give thanks to her as Πεισματίη, and set forth.

For Cedrenus[2], the king of the Doliones is the "toparch of the Hellespont," nor is there any subterfuge about his death. He opposes the Argonauts in a sea-fight, and is killed. The town, characteristically described as the "metropolis of the Hellespont," is taken by the heroes. What little epic incident remains—the discovery of the Argonauts' kinship with the dead man, and the consequent building of the temple and enquiry of Apollo as to its dedication, merely leads up to the oracle of the latter given at the Pythia Therma—an elaborate prophecy of the birth of Christ and the redemption of mankind. The temple is to belong to the Virgin Mother of God; Jason (not unnaturally) dedicates it to the Mother of the Gods, writing the oracle over the lintel of the door: "but afterwards in the time of the emperor Zeno the name was changed and the house after the holy Mother of God."

The traditional chronology of this early period, though naturally fanciful, is interesting as shewing the supposed relative

[1] *Orphica*, 490–823.

[2] 119 B., also in Joh. Malal. IV. 94, Johannes Antioch. fr. 15.

antiquity of Troy and Cyzicus, and in connection with the later attempts to join the two cycles of legend. The first foundation by King Cyzicus is placed in the year of the world 4152, thirty-four years after the foundation of Troy[1], and three[2], four[3], or thirty-four[4] years before the Argonautic expedition; further, despite Cyzicus' marriage with Cleite, whose brothers fought in the Trojan war, the fall of Ilium is computed no less than ninety-five years after the foundation of Cyzicus[5].

[1] *Chron. Pasch.* 148 B. [2] Some MSS. of Eusebius (ed. Schoene II. 45).
[3] Hieron. (Eusebius, Schoene II. 47). These two dates are more in accordance with the local legend which regards Cyzicus as a young newly-married man.
[4] Eusebius II. 46. [5] Eusebius II. 52.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MILESIAN COLONY.

FOR the Milesian foundation the date 756 is generally accepted as at least approximately correct[1]. To Ol. 6, 3 is attributed the maritime supremacy of the Milesians (implying a successful trade-war with the Phoenicians) and the colonization of Naucratis. Four years after planting their opposition colony in Egypt, i.e. in 751 B.C., they turned to the Hellespont, and, ousting their rivals (the "Tyrrhenians" of Conon?), planted colonies at Cyzicus and Proconnesus on their way to the Euxine. The year, according to Eusebius, is the 29th of the Lydian Ardys, and the third of Romulus. The colony was as usual directed by an oracle of Apollo, which predicted in no measured terms its future prosperity[2].

A second colonization is recorded in 675[3], about the period of extreme Lydian expansion. The Lydian empire then extended certainly to the Hellespont, and has left traces in the name Dascylium, and perhaps also Sidene and Zeleia. This second date corresponds also to that period of development characterized in many of the Greek states by the rise of oligarchies, succeeded generally by tyrannies. In most of these states the political conditions bred discontent and stimulated emigration: at Corinth the rule of the Bacchiadae and Cypselus is a conspicuous instance, and, as we know that there was a tyrant at Miletus

[1] Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* p. 156, cf. Euseb. II. 81. Syncellus 402 B. The Milesian origin is attested by Str. 656, Sch. Ap. Rh. I. 1077, Plin. *N.H.* V. 32.

[2] Aristid. I. 383, Dind. Cf. Sch. Ap. Rh. I. 955, 959.

[3] Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* p. 186. Hieron. places it 673 with Locri, which however is certainly an earlier foundation. Eusebius (II. 87) in Ol. XXV., possibly therefore in the reign of Gyges who seems to have encouraged Greek colonization (Str. 520).

contemporary with Cypselus[1], we may assume that the Ionian city had developed in the same way. The date is also well within the chronological limits of Milesian colonizing activity in this direction. We need thus have no hesitation in rejecting Joannes Lydus'[2] suggestion of a Megarian colonization of Cyzicus, of which we find no trace in the language or institutions of the city.

The Lydian monarchy collapsed in the middle of the sixth century, and the Persian empire took its place, without greatly changing the status of the semi-dependent Greek colonies. The Persian, like most oriental administrations, admitted readily of the establishment of local "tyrants" responsible only to the central government, and, save for the matter of tribute, independent: under Cyrus, a Cyzicene Pytharchus, not content with the seven cities granted him by his royal master, made an armed attempt on the liberty of his native city[3]. The Cyzicenes resisted him with spirit and beat him off, but in the succeeding reign we find tyrants of Cyzicus (Aristagoras), and of Proconnesus (Metrodorus), taking part, with their colleagues from the other cities of the Propontis, in the Thracian campaign of Darius[4]. The latter, or his lieutenant, seems to have been a harder master than Cyrus[5]. Not only did he exact the last penny of his tribute, but the fairest maidens of Cyzicus were selected for a present to his daughter[6].

[1] Hdt. I. 20.

[2] *De Mag. Rom.* III. 70, τὰς Χαιρεδήμου στοὰς (πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπωνόμασαν) οἱ Κύζικον οἰκίσαντες (*al.* οἰκήσαντες) Μεγαρεῖς. The last word may have slipped in from above.

[3] Athen. I. 30.

[4] Hdt. IV. 138.

[5] Cf. Hdt. III. 89.

[6] Suid. s.v. θεοκλυτήσαντες = Ael. frag. 359.

CHAPTER XVII.

RELATIONS WITH PERSIA AND GREECE, 502—362.

IN the Ionian revolt the city, like most of her neighbours, made a bid for independence, but when Proconnesus and Artace were burnt by the Phoenician fleet after the battle of Lade and the fall of their parent Miletus, Cyzicus avoided their fate by a timely submission to Oebareus, the Satrap of Dascylium[1]. Later, in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, the Hellespontine Greeks supplied the Persian with a fleet of a hundred ships[2].

The struggle between Darius and Xerxes and the Greeks was partly at least a revenge for the interference of Athens between the Great King and his subjects: the result of the unexpected success of the Greeks, who had never so nearly attained to unity and genuine Panhellenic enthusiasm, was to turn their eyes once more to their still enslaved compatriots in Ionia. After the decisive victory of Mycale, the combined Greek fleet made for the Hellespont, and after besieging and taking Sestos, passed through to Byzantium. Cyzicus very probably came over the same year (478), and was henceforward a member of the Delian confederation. The table published in the Corpus of Attic inscriptions[3], which gives an interesting view of the relative importance of several towns concerned in the history of Cyzicus in the latter half of the fifth century, assesses them as follows:

Artace	2000 dr.
Besbicus	3000 dr.
Cyzicus	9 talents

[1] Hdt. VI. 33. [2] Hdt. VII. 95. [3] Vol. I. p. 228.

Dascylium	500 dr.
Didymoteichus	1000 dr.
Harpagium	300 dr.
Lampsacus	12 talents, decreasing to 10 t. 2700 dr. in the period B.C. 425 ff.
Priapus	500 dr.
Proconnesus	3 talents

while the Byzantines begin with 15 talents, and rise to over 21[1].

The Hellespontine tributaries with the rest of the Asiatic allies were ripe for defection after the humiliation of their suzerain in Sicily. They had been apathetic ever since the danger from Persia was no longer immediate, while the misappropriation of the common funds had shewn them that Athens could no longer be trusted to maintain her legitimate position with regard to her free allies: in her present straits her defeats would have to be made good by additional contributions from themselves, in return for which they could expect no adequate defence, should need arise. The oligarchic factions embraced the opportunity to intrigue with Sparta, disregarding in characteristic fashion the fact that the latter was now pledged in return for supplies of money to forward the Great King's claim to the cities of Asia: the danger was for the moment averted by a change in the political relations of the volatile Alcibiades, who, disowned by the Spartans, turned against them such influence as he possessed with Tissaphernes. The Spartan admiral Mindarus, therefore, decided to act without waiting for help from Persia. In the Hellespont Abydus, Byzantium and Cyzicus[2] had already deserted Athens at the instigation of Clearchus, and Mindarus hoped to win over the other cities to his cause.

In this he was disappointed: the decisive action at Cynossema (411) opened the Hellespont to the Athenians, who sailed through, and captured eight ships of the revolted Byzantium, which they found at anchor in the roadstead of Priapus; they

[1] The amount of the Zeleian contribution has not come down to us, though the name of Zeleia figures.

[2] Diod. Sic. XIII. 40.

then made a successful descent on Cyzicus, which was unwalled[1], recalled it to its allegiance, and exacted large arrears of tribute from the inhabitants[2]. In the ensuing season, however, Mindarus anticipated them and took the city by storm.

Battle of Cyzicus[3]. 410.

Alcibiades, however, hearing that Mindarus was at Cyzicus, sent his ships forward to Sestus, where he was joined by Thrasyllus, and thence to Proconnesus. After waiting there two days, he crept upon Cyzicus unawares during a rain-storm: the ships of Mindarus were exercising in the bay, and, seeing the hostile fleet approaching, retreated to the land and stood on the defensive. Alcibiades with his squadron attacked, and by a simulated flight tempted them out to sea, till they were far enough to be cut off by the wings under Thrasyllus and Theramenes. The fleet of Mindarus was completely defeated, and retired in disorder to the shore, to concert with the land force of Pharnabazus. But Alcibiades had also landed troops[4], and desperate fighting took place on the beach, in the course of which Mindarus was slain. Alcibiades finally towed off his prizes in triumph to Proconnesus. On his return, he was well received by the Cyzicenes, and, beyond exacting large sums of money, took no vengeance for their defection. They acknowledged their obligation, for Athenaeus[5] tells us that whenever Alcibiades took a journey they undertook to provide him with sacrificial animals.

[1] Thuc. VIII. 107. Diod. Sic. XIII. 40. This detail, insisted on by both authors, needs explanation, for the evidence of the stater-coinage shews that Cyzicus was already an important commercial town, surely implying that it must have been walled before this. Moreover, the description of the siege by Mindarus (*πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἐξεβίβασε καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιεστρατοπέδευσε*) implies a fortification. An already existing wall may have been dismantled on the triumph of the Philo-Spartan party as at Teos (Thuc. VIII. 16). Frontinus (III. 9. 6) insists that the city was walled when Alcibiades took it in 410: but his account quite ignores the naval engagement, and has no points in common with the other authors. "Alcibiades," he says, "attacked by night, and sounding his trumpets at one point of the fortifications sent his storming party to another part, which was left undefended by the rush of the citizens to the threatened point." Frontinus' object being to illustrate strategy rather than history, it may reasonably be doubted whether the story is correctly applied to Cyzicus.

[2] Diod. Sic. XIII. 49.

[3] Xen. *Hell.* I. 1. 10; Diod. XIII. 49, 50; Plut. *Vit. Alc.* 28; Polyaen. I. 40. 9. Aristides I. 264, Dind.

[4] Diodorus.

[5] XII. 534.

The battle of Aegospotami (405) made an end of the pretensions of Athens to empire; the cities of Asia were occupied by Spartan Harmosts and governed by Philo-Spartan oligarchies, the Spartans being still hand and glove with the Persian[1]. Cyzicus was among the number of the Spartan conquests, as casual hints in Xenophon[2] shew. The Spartan rule was detested with far more reason than the Athenian by the Asiatic Greeks: not to mention specific autocratic acts, the supremacy of the oligarchic faction was at variance with the traditions of the trading communities of Ionia. From it they were saved by the growing jealousy between Persia and Sparta, culminating in the victory of the Athenians, obtained only by Persian aid, at Cnidus (394). Athens again endeavoured to assert her hegemony, and a new naval league, including Byzantium and probably the rest of the Hellespontine cities[3], was initiated by Thrasybulus. This league came to an end with the disgraceful peace of Antalcidas (386), which resigned the cities of Asia to Artaxerxes.

The Ionian cities had been granted a provisional freedom by Pharnabazus and Conon[4], nor have we evidence that Cyzicus ever received a Persian garrison during the succeeding period. A definite break with Persia occurred about 364, when the city was besieged, evidently by the Hellespontine satrap, and relieved by the Athenian Timotheus[5], who enlisted it as an ally of Athens: but a few years later a wanton insult by an Athenian official was sufficient pretext for a rupture. The notorious Midias, on a privateering expedition, fell in with a Cyzicene merchant vessel, attacked it, and relieved it of upwards of five

[1] During the period 411–394 Pharnabazus struck money in Cyzicus (*B. M. Cat. Ionia*, 325, 12, pl. xxxi. 5).

[2] *Hell.* III. 4, 10, 11. *Anab.* VII. 2. A Cyzicene Apollophanes is also mentioned as negotiating between Pharnabazus and Agesilaus. *Hell.* IV. 1, 29. Plut. *Ages.* 12.

[3] Xen. *Hell.* IV. 8, 26. Cf. *Mélanges de Numismatique* II. 7, where the Samian type of Heracles and the serpents is shewn to occur on coins of Rhodes, Cnidus, Ephesus, Lampsacus and Cyzicus, perhaps implying that these were all members of the new league.

[4] Xen. *Hell.* IV. 8. 1, 2.

[5] Diod. Sic. XV. Nepos, *Tim.* 1. Cf. J. P. Six in *Num. Chron.* 1898, 18 (on a stater with supposed head of Timotheus).

talents. The Cyzicenes brought the matter before the Athenian government, and Midias actually managed to justify his course of action to the ecclesia[1]. Henceforward Cyzicus threw off her allegiance and began to take up an independent position as one of the important commercial states of Asia. In 362 Athens was humiliated by the conquest of Proconnesus, and the transportation of its inhabitants (her allies) to Cyzicus[2], and the latter state was fairly embarked on her imperial policy.

[1] Demosth. *in Mid.* 570, par. 173, and Schol. *ad loc.*

[2] Dem. in *Polycl.* 1207 (Paus. VIII. 46). Spite may have had something to do with the Cyzicene interference with the Black Sea corn-ships. The incident is dated by the archonship of Molon.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD.

STRABO has compared the autonomous government of Cyzicus with that of Rhodes, and the two cities have many other points of similarity, which invite the comparison. Both, rising into prominence when the decay of the old Greek political ideals was already far advanced, belong essentially to the Hellenistic age, whose practical levelling tendencies blot out the original racial distinctions between Dorian and Ionian colonies. In history and politics both are island states, rich in trade and sea-power, and largely independent of continental affairs: both with far-seeing shrewdness court the rising star, and ally themselves in turn with the dynasts of Pergamon and with the growing power of Rome, thus maintaining their prosperity continuously into imperial times.

As commercial and naval powers Rhodes and Cyzicus, with the latter's neighbour and rival Byzantium, are supreme in their corner of the world throughout the Hellenistic period. Rhodes was the broker between Rome on the one hand and Egypt and Syria on the other, while Byzantium stood inevitably on the route of every ship passing out of the Black Sea: to her, already in the fifth century the most prosperous city of the Hellespontine tribute, fell the lion's share of the Thracian and South Russian trade and of the Black Sea fisheries.

Cyzicus' position as regards the Hellespont, especially during her alliance with Pergamon, resembles that of Byzantium with regard to the Bosporus: her native resources were by no means scanty: the territory on the mainland afforded her corn, meat and wine enough for home consumption, while the mines and forests of Ida supplied her builders and her shipwrights with metals and timber.

As regards exports, the marble of Proconnesus, wine, salt-fish and the unguents[1] of Cyzicus, had indeed a name outside her borders, but these were a poor set-off against the trade of the Black Sea—the electrum of the Urals, from which the Cyzicene staters were coined, and the wheat of the South Russian plains. The remote Hellenism of the Euxine demanded, as was natural, manufactured goods in return for its raw produce, and it was her superior facilities for supplying these which allowed Cyzicus to hold her own even against Byzantium. Situated as she was on an island which had become at her will a peninsula, the city secured to a large extent the advantages of both conditions, and in times when the risks of sea transit were manifold it is hard to overestimate the value to Cyzicus of the Macestus valley road, which connected her with Smyrna and the southern ports, no less than with the manufacturing inland towns of Asia.

In point of time Cyzicus had some years start of Rhodes, for her staters[2] were a standard medium of international exchange at the time of the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, and bear witness to her connections not only with Ionia, Thrace, and Greece Proper, but even with Magna Graecia and Sicily before the middle of the fourth century[3].

The inscriptions of the autonomous period attest also the friendly public and private relations of her citizens with Rhodes, Panticapaeum, Paros, Ceos, Tanagra, Oreus and Ilion, and of her official participation in the cultus of Delos and Delphi, Branchidae and most of all Samothrace[4], with whose mysterious gods she was possibly associated by some lost tradition of the Argonauts. The Hellenistic period also, as the compilation of evidence in Marquardt's Book III. 3—4 shews, is responsible for her greatest literary and artistic output. Cyzicene artists and authors would be naturally attracted by the intellectual atmosphere of Pergamon, and our scant evidence does not permit us

[1] Athen. XV. 688. Plin. XIII. 2. Paus. IV. 35.

[2] For the Cyzicene staters see Lenormant in *Rév. Num.* 1856, and Greenwell, *The electrum coinage of Cyzicus*. Eupolis frag. 5 is particularly valuable evidence for their early repute.

[3] Greenwell, p. 28.

[4] *C.I.G.* 2157, 2158 etc.

to attribute any independent school of thought to the essentially commercial city.

In the history of Alexander's conquests Cyzicus plays but a passive part: the measure of her autonomy under the Persian *régime* at this period is shewn by the preliminary episode of the attempt of Memnon.

Memnon the Rhodian, 335 B.C.

When the news of Alexander's preparations for his Asiatic campaigns came to the ears of Darius III., the latter determined on an effort to hold the Hellespontine province against him, and deputed a small body of 5000 mercenaries under Memnon of Rhodes to surprise the free city of Cyzicus[1]. The isthmus was evidently bridged, or at least practicable for a land force, already, for Memnon (owing, Polyaenus says, to his disguising his force as Macedonians) all but succeeded in his enterprise of capturing the city. Failing in this, he sat down before it, wasting and spoiling the land, till the advent of the Macedonians diverted his attention. Alexander himself crossed the Hellespont in 334 and, receiving the submission of Priapus on his way, met the Persian satraps on the Granicus[2]. So great was the moral effect of his victory that he advanced no further east, but sent Parmenio to take possession of the satrapy and himself turned south on his career of conquest. Parmenio took Dascylium without resistance, and the satrapy was administered on the old lines: Zeleia, which had taken part against Alexander under compulsion, was pardoned, while Cyzicus retained her freedom[3].

On Alexander's death the satrapy of Lesser Phrygia fell to Leonnatus, and in 321 by the partition of Triparadisus to Arrhidaeus. The latter, anxious to secure a strong base in his province, immediately bethought him of Cyzicus as the largest and best defended place in the satrapy. He first[4] attempted

[1] Diod. XVII. 7. Polyaen. V. 44.

[2] Arrian I. 12 ff. Plut. *Alex.* 16. Diod. Sic. XVII. 15. *It. Alex.* XIX. XXII.

[3] The coins struck in the name of Alexander with m.m. torch date after his time (see Müller, *Monnaies d'Alexandre*, 223).

[4] I have reversed Marquardt's order for the double attempt of Arrhidaeus, since it seemed (1) that treachery was the first and most obvious method to occur to a Greek politician: and (2) that the downfall of Arrhidaeus followed close on the heels of his retirement from Cyzicus.

to win her over to his side by means of her own political divisions, and to this end subsidised a citizen of repute, by name Timaeus, to gain the affection of the proletariat by distributions of corn and money; but the scheme was discovered in time by the government, and Timaeus ended his days in dishonour[1].

Arrhidaeus next turned to arms[2]. With a force of 10,000 foot-mercenaries, 1,000 Macedonian cavalry, 500 Persian slingers and archers and a siege-train, he set out for Cyzicus. His unexpected advent found the Cyzicenes quite unprepared, and for the most part scattered over the open country of the mainland: interposing himself between it and the city, he called on the inhabitants to surrender and submit to the imposition of a garrison. The citizens hastily manned the walls with boys and slaves, and made such show of resistance as they could, conscious, however, of the impossibility of sustaining a siege. They promised to accede to Arrhidaeus' demands except in the matter of the garrison, and when he still insisted, replied that the question must be laid in due form before the people. By thus temporising they gained a respite of twenty-four hours, during which they launched ships, sent hastily to Byzantium for men and stores, and under cover of night ferried across their fellow citizens from the mainland. Arrhidaeus, who had not counted on their control of the sea, was completely disconcerted and eventually retired with loss.

Antigonus, who had hoped to take advantage of the siege to rescue the city from Arrhidaeus and bind it to himself, now appeared with a very considerable force, but finding Arrhidaeus already disposed of, set out after him, with many protestations of his goodwill towards Cyzicus and his determination to uphold the liberties of the free cities; which sentiments were doubtless assessed at their true value by the hard-headed traders behind the walls.

The position of such towns as Cyzicus under the Diadochi was anomalous: as naval powers they were naturally the object of conciliatory overtures from the satraps of the mainland, while their own commercial interests were all for peace. Cyzicus at this period possessed land on the continent which must surely

[1] Democharesap. Ath. XI. 509. [2] Diod. XVIII. 51, 52.

have been recognised as part of the "Hellespontine satrapy" of the Diadochi[1]. Refusal to submit to a nominal suzerainty would entail loss of this territory, and it is reasonable to suppose that a compromise was agreed upon, the relations of Cyzicus with the mainland authorities varying to a certain extent with the state of parties within her walls. The agricultural proletariat which stood to lose immediately in the event of hostilities would be naturally more inclined to make concessions to the dynasts.

The usual party bitterness of a Greek city is revealed by the incident related by the Pseudo-Aristotle[2], when the plutocrats are seen in eclipse, banished from the city, and deprived of their property, while the striking of coins with the Cyzicene mint-mark by Lysimachus and Antiochus I. and II.[3] may be evidence for a Seleucid ascendancy contemporaneous with the beginning of the Pergamene alliance. The incident of the Cyzicene mercenaries sent to the relief of Byzantium, who refused to obey orders unless in accordance with home instructions[4], may, if referred to the siege of Byzantium by Antiochus II.[5], be part of the same policy: but the history of the period is as fragmentary as the circumstances of the story are vague.

The Pergamenes.

The alliance of Cyzicus with the princes of Pergamon gives a continuity to her history which has hitherto been lacking. The connection dates from the early years of Philetaerus the founder of the dynasty, an ally of Antiochus I., and ends only with the last of the line, after whose death the city came into immediate relations with Rome.

One of the few important records of Cyzicus discovered during recent years[6] testifies to Philetaerus' personal benefactions to the city, which were evidently a part of his known policy of conciliation towards the Asiatic states: they begin very soon after, if not before, his seizure of the throne. The inscription being dated by a brief mention of the Gallic invasion, Dr Cecil Smith has very plausibly argued that the king's gift of

[1] Cf. Michel, *Recueil*, 35.
[2] *Oecon.* 2. 11.
[3] Müller, *Monnaies d'Alexandre*, 233. *Monn. de Lysim.* 381.
[4] Aen. Tact. XII.
[5] Droysen, II. 286.
[6] Inscr. I. 23 (*J.H.S.* XXII. 193. 3). See also *R.E.G.* 1902, 302–10.

corn in the year of the invasion of the Trocmi[1] implies that the Cyzicenes saved themselves on that occasion by severing their communication with the mainland and so from their home corn supply. In other years his gifts consist according to circumstances in oil and money for the games, horses, fiscal privileges or military aid, shewing him to be a practical friend to the city.

Cyzicus remained in alliance with his successors, and Attalus I. cemented the growing friendship by marrying Apollonis, the beautiful and exemplary daughter of a Cyzicene[2], whose greatest pride, Plutarch[3] tells us, though she had risen from private estate to be queen of the now flourishing realm of Pergamus, was in the loyalty of her other sons to their elder brother Eumenes II.

In the reign of the latter, the Roman grant of Phrygia *ad Hellespontum* to the Kingdom of Pergamon[4] brought the two states into still closer contact, and in the succeeding wars with Prusias II. of Bithynia, Cyzicus provided Athenaeus with twenty out of the eighty ships, with which he harried the Bithynian coast[5]. At the conclusion of the war the city was honoured by a state visit from Apollonis[6] who was escorted by her sons through the city of her birth. The Cyzicenes were so much struck by the devotion of her sons that they likened them to Cleobis and Biton, the Greek models of filial affection, and the temple erected to Apollonis in Cyzicus after her death, the Argive legend, and many others of the same character from Greek and Roman myth, were represented in relief on the bases of the columns[7].

[1] Cf. Liv. XXXVIII. 16. [2] Str. 624. [3] *Frat. Amor.* 3.

[4] B.C. 188. Liv. XXXVIII. 39. This settlement was the consequence of the aggressions of Antiochus III., who appears actually to have occupied Cyzicus with a garrison about 196. The place is not mentioned by name, but the occupation seems obvious from a comparison of Appian, *Syr.* 1 (Ἑλλησποντίους ἐπῄει...ὡς οἱ προσήκοντας ἄρχοντι τῆς Ἀσίας ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέων ὑπήκουον· οἱ μὲν πλέονες αὐτῷ προσετίθεντο [Lampsacus and Smyrna are mentioned as exceptions in *Syr.* 2] καὶ φρουρὰς ἐσεδέχοντο δέει τῷ τῆς ἁλώσεως) and *ibid.* 12 where Cyzicus is among the cities Antiochus proposes to surrender.

[5] Polyb. XXXIII. 132. Cf. Inscr. IV. 40 (if this is not Miletopolitan), where τὰ κατάφρακτα are mentioned.

[6] Polyb. XXII. 20.

[7] *Anth. Pal.* III.

In this worship of Apollonis the Roman imperial cultus finds its prototype: it must have been just as important a political asset to the Pergamenes[1]: the benefactor Philetaerus was already commemorated by games[2], as the Roman Muciea precede the Imperial cultus. The worship of Apollonis, we gather from parallels at Teos[3], included also the rest of the royal house, who through her had Cyzicene blood in their veins, though until their death they were not recognised as gods; while Apollonis' Teian epithet of *Apobateria* appears to identify her with the Marine Aphrodite[4], just as Livia was later associated with Athena, and Faustina assimilated to Kore.

The connection with Pergamum also brought to Cyzicus the cult of Asklepios as well as the worship (inaugurated by the dynasts) of Athena Nikephoros[5], while in the reign of Attalus III. Athenaeus, a Cyzicene citizen of Apollonis' family, was presented to the important priesthood of Dionysus Kathegemon at Pergamum[6]. Artistically also the inclusion of a Cyzicene Stratonicus[7] among the sculptors of the battle groups commemorating the victories of Attalus and Eumenes is significant.

In external politics as a whole the town plays a passive part during this period. Her policy, like that of Rhodes and other commercial states, was peaceful, and unless forced, she avoided war in the interests of trade. The citizens witness the treaty between Eumenes II. and Pharnaces in 179[8] and appear

[1] They used it certainly to cement their relations with Miletus. *Arch. Anz.* 1904, 1. 9.

[2] Inscr. II. 19.

[3] Le Bas 88. *C.I.G.* 3067, 3068, 3070. The latter are connected with the Ionian and Hellespontine Dionysiac artists.

[4] Cf. also Stratonice at Smyrna. The temple of Apollonis *may* have stood near the north-west corner of the central harbour, where there are ruins (De Rustafjaell marks "Temple"?). This is a very suitable place if the queen was "Ecbateria" and the Philetaerus stele is from the immediate neighbourhood. The temple seems from *Anth. Pal.* III. to have been recognisable in comparatively late times.

[5] Cf. *B.C.H.* IV. 573. Fränckel, *Inschr. v. Pergamon* 167. Strabo 624.

[6] Fränckel 248.

[7] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen* 1994. Other Cyzicene artists are collected by Marquardt, Book III. 3, 7. Most of them are, however, little more than names to us, and in general serve only to illustrate the prosperity and consequence of the city in the Hellenistic age: nor can any detail be added to the minute account of Marquardt.

[8] Polyb. XXV. 2. 13.

to have been on good terms with Antiochus Epiphanes who gave magnificent presents to the Prytaneum[1] at Cyzicus as to the city at Rhodes. Antiochus IX. was even sent to Cyzicus for his education[2] as his brother Grypus was to Athens, and apparently raised troops there to fight against his rival: he is the first of several foreign princes who were brought up in the city, it being apparently famous for its educational institutions.

[1] Liv. XLI. 20.

[2] App. *Syr.* 68. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* XIII. 10. 1. Euseb. *Chron.* I. xl. 19.

CHAPTER XIX.

EARLY RELATIONS WITH ROME.

THE extinction of the royal house of Pergamon brought Cyzicus into immediate relations with the Romans, who respected her freedom, and found in her a loyal and powerful ally. The rising of Aristonicus did not shake her loyalty, and his attempted siege was rendered abortive by the appearance of Nicomedes of Bithynia in answer to a summons of the Romans[1].

Mithradates was equally unsuccessful. In 85 his son was defeated on the Rhyndacus near Miletupolis[2] by Fimbria, who, being encamped opposite him, crossed the river by night and surrounded the hostile camp; he entrenched his own position and awaited attack at dawn; when it came, his wings immediately closed and the enemy was completely out-manœuvred. The Cyzicenes opened their gates to the conqueror, who disgusted them by his insolence and cruelty: he killed two of their prominent citizens and threatened the lives of the others if they did not pay him a substantial ransom[3]. Nothing could be more calculated to alienate an ally.

The Mithradatic Siege, 73 B.C.[4]

Cyzicus, however, remained loyal: the third Mithradatic war opened with the successful operations of the king before Chalcedon, where he shut up Cotta, and, bursting the chain which defended the harbour mouth, burnt four and towed out sixty ships. Of these ten

[1] Inscr. I. 7: but this again may refer to Miletupolis.

[2] Oros. VI. 2 § 10. Memnon 34. Frontin. III. 17. 5. *C.I.G.* 6855.

[3] Diodor. frag. XXXVIII. 8. 3.

[4] Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* 9; Appian, *de Bell. Mithr.* 72; Sallust, fragg. III. 308, IV. 315, VI. 337 (Valpy); Strabo XII. 575; Diod. Sic. frag. (ap. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* II.) XXIV. § 33; Memnon 40; Florus L. 40; Liv. Epit. XCV.; Frontin. III. 136, IV. 5. 21; Aur. Victor. VI. 74; Amm. Marc. XXIII. 256; Sid. Apoll. XIX. 163 ff., XXII. 511 ff.; Orosius VI. 2. 14; Suidas s.v. Εὐερμία = Ael. frag. 12; Cicero, *pro Manil.* 8, *pro Archia*, 8; Pliny XVII. 244; Porph. *de Abst.* I. 25; Paul. Diac. VI. 4. 6; Th. Reinach, *Mith. Eupator*, 325, and Inscr. p. 302 below.

were from Cyzicus, and three thousand of her citizens fell alive into his hands. He determined to make use of this success and marched on the city: Lucullus met him near by, but Mithradates eluded him in the night, and took up his position before the walls with an immense army of 300,000 men and a fleet of 400 ships, meaning to make it his headquarters for the ensuing winter.

Lucullus with five legions followed hard on his heels, and grasping at once the weak point in his opponent's plans, which lay in the difficulty of supplying his huge force with food, took up his position immediately behind him on the mainland, at the Thracian Village. Mithradates, relying on false information to the effect that the Fimbrian legions, which formed part of Lucullus' force, were ripe for desertion, carelessly abandoned his strong outpost on Adrasteia, whose immediate occupation by Lucullus effectually cut off his supplies from the mainland.

Mithradates then gave his whole attention to the siege: he blocked the passage through the isthmus; his fleet closed the mouth of the war port with a double stockade, while his army surrounded the town with a chain of ten forts. The Cyzicenes at first despaired: Mithradates paraded the prisoners of Chalcedon before the walls, and the citizens were assured that the army of Lucullus, which they could see on the high ground about the Thracian Village, was merely a reinforcement sent to Mithradates by his Armenian ally. So convinced were they of this that the messenger passed through the hostile fleet by Lucullus was discredited, and only the obstinate attitude of the governor, Pisistratus, prevented a surrender. The defenders were at length convinced of Lucullus' presence by the testimony of a prisoner, and a small body of men which slipped into the town under cover of darkness in a boat brought overland from the lake of Manyas encouraged them to continue the resistance.

The king now determined at all costs to storm the town: his grain ships were already, owing to the lateness of the season, becoming few and far between, the continental roads were held against him, and he counted on the granaries of the city for the winter. He commenced to throw up a series of earthworks and

to construct immense siege engines. In particular he built a tower on two quinqueremes for an assault on the harbour walls. An attempt with this great bridging tower was so far successful that the defenders were driven back, but the storming party did not follow up their advantage, and the four men who made good their entrance were killed by the rallying citizens: the fleet was beaten off from the walls. A further attempt was made from the land, and towards evening the wall was breached by fire: the still smoking aperture was, however, for the moment impracticable, and in the ensuing night the citizens made good the damage.

The gods themselves fought on the side of the besieged: at the feast of Persephone, the Cyzicenes, despairing of obtaining the offering demanded by usage, were about to sacrifice a cake made in the shape of a heifer, when the selected victim of the goddess swam unscathed from the mainland to the city and offered itself for sacrifice: Persephone herself appeared to the town clerk, promising in mysterious words "to send the flute-player of Libya upon the trumpeter of Pontus," and next morning the siege engines of the king were prostrated by a violent south wind. At Ilium Athena appeared in dishevelled dress saying that she came from the fight at Cyzicus[1].

Mithradates' advisers warned him to give up the siege, after these repeated evidences of divine disfavour. He consented only to send away his baggage train, taking advantage of an attack by Lucullus, into Bithynia: but it was intercepted at the Rhyndacus and cut to pieces. The king ventured a last throw, and spent time and labour on a new series of earthworks from the side of the island. Winter now came on in earnest, and disease and famine made ravages in the besiegers' camp. The new earthworks were mined, and the king himself, by the strategy of a Roman centurion in charge of the sappers, with whom he attempted to negotiate[2], all but captured; the besieged, whose food supplies still held out, encouraged by the miserable condition of the enemy, made frequent sallies.

[1] Cf. the intervention of Isis on behalf of Rhodes in the Mithradatic siege. App. *Bell. Mith.* 27.

[2] Diodorus. Cf. Strabo.

Mithradates, finding that his position was untenable and having no hopes of bettering it, at last decided to retire. The army made the best of its way by land to Lampsacus, but lost heavily at the flooded crossings of the Aesepus and Granicus which were held by Lucullus' troops. The king himself set out by sea to Parium; the besieged took advantage of the confusion during the embarkation to make a sally, and it was only after desperate fighting on the shore that a portion of the fleet was able to get away.

Lucullus entered the gates in triumph, hailed as the saviour of the city, and many years after his services were commemorated by the games called Lucullea instituted in his honour. The relief of the city counted for one of his finest services, while full credit was given to the Cyzicenes for their gallant defence.

The Romans in recognition of her loyalty awarded her the title of a free city[1], and added to her borders a great deal of the surrounding country; in Strabo's[2] time her territory extended westwards to the Aesepus and the plain of Adrasteia, southwards to the lake of Manyas, eastward to the Rhyndacus and the lake of Apollonia, and even beyond the river to the country about the Odryses.

This great dramatic event in the history of a city famed hitherto rather for her commerce than her arms, brought about a curious revival of the Epic spirit. To the citizens of a later day it was a heroic episode, one of those occasions when Homer's gods came down to fight with men for Hellenism against barbarism, and we are justified in supposing that the Roman Lucullus was enrolled as a city hero in official cultus. The incident of the siege thus became a link with Rome, welded not only by sentiment but by facts.

[1] Str. 376. Suet. *Tib.* 37. [2] 376. Cf. 551, 582.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

IN the succeeding period we find Cyzicus one of the most energetic naval allies of Rome, lending ships freely to her great ally. She sent a contingent to the aid of Caesar in the Alexandrian war[1], and again to the Libyan campaign against the rallying Pompeian party[2].

Brutus.

After Caesar's death, Cyzicus was selected by the tyrannicides as the headquarters of their fleet during the short-lived resistance to the young Augustus[3]. The honours decreed to Herostratus, the emissary of Brutus (in which decree Cyzicus was evidently concerned, if indeed Herostratus was not a Cyzicene[4]), and Brutus' choice of the city as an asylum for his young protégé the Thracian prince Satala[5], argue no great attachment to Caesar's memory: but on the other hand it may be contended that the tyrannicides' appointment at least was perfectly legal, that it was hard enough even in the capital to distinguish the constitutional party, and that the presence of Brutus would naturally count for a good deal[6].

[1] Inscr. I. 10. [2] Inscr. I. 11. *C.I.G.* 3665.

[3] Plut. *Brutus*, 28, *ναυτικὸν μὲν ἐξηρτύετο στόλον ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ καὶ περὶ Κύζικον, πεζῇ δ' αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν καθίστατο. τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοῖς δυνασταῖς ἐχρημάτιζε* etc.

[4] Inscr. I. 19. [5] App. *Bell. Civ.* IV. 75.

[6] To this period ostensibly belong the curious "Letters of Brutus" of which I print the Cyzicene series (after Westermann's edition) below, as not easily accessible. They are presumably based on the passage of Plutarch quoted above.

Λε'. Βροῦτος Κυζικηνοῖς. *Τὰ ἀπὸ Βιθυνίας ὅπλα παραπέμψατε ἄχρι Ἑλλησπόντου ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιθέμενοι. αἰσθοισθε δ' ἂν αὐτοὶ μάλιστα τῆς ῥᾳονος αὐτῶν παρακομιδῆς. εἰ μέντοι βραδύτερον ἢ δεῖ ἡμῖν ἔλθοι, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ παράπαν φθαρείη ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γένοιτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδικῆσθαι δόξομεν.*

Λς'. Κυζικηνοὶ Βρούτῳ. *Παραπέμψαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατὰ γῆν διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ναυσὶ διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας χαλεπόν, μάλιστα σοῦ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα συνάψαντος, ταχυτῆτα καὶ*

After Philippi, the eastern half of the empire fell to Antony: and it was by the aid of a contingent of gladiators stationed within her walls by the latter that Cyzicus was enabled to beat off the attack by land and sea of Sextus Pompeius in 35, during the last bid for power made by that adventurer in Asia[1].

Augustus.

It may be that Augustus bore Cyzicus a grudge for the part she had taken in the civil wars, and that this helped to secure their disfranchisement in B.C. 20[2]: but the charge of scourging and killing Roman citizens is obviously one which could not for the sake of precedent be overlooked by the government: one can at the same time well imagine that any assumed superiority on the part of the resident Romans would easily incur the resentment of the free citizens, and thus lead to

ἀσφάλειαν. ὅμως δὲ σπουδῆς οὐδεμιᾶς λειψόμεθα, ἐὰν τὸ ἐκ τύχης συμβησόμενον μὴ τοῖς ἀόκνως ὑπουργήσασι προσθῇς.

λζ'. Β.-Κ. Ἐκομίσθη τὰ ὅπλα καὶ εἰς ὃν βουλόμεθα καιρόν. τῆς λειτουργίας οὖν ἡμῖν ταύτης ἐν δέοντι γενομένης ἀντιδίδομεν τὴν Προκόννησον σὺν ταῖς ἐν αὐτῇ λιθουργίαις.

λη'. Κ.-Β. Οὔτε κέρδους ἐλπίδι ἐσπεύσαμεν ἃ ἐπέστειλας οὔτε εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ὀκνηρῶς ἐμέλλομεν ἕξειν ἐπαινεθέντες ἀμισθί. ὅμως δὲ εἰ ἀξιούμεθά σοι δωρεᾶς, ἡδόμεθα τῇ σῇ μαρτυρίᾳ πλέον ἢ ταῖς Προκοννησίων λατομίαις.

λθ'. Β.-Κ. Οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ συνέτυχον ἀπίοντι ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ παρεῖσθαι τῆς συμμαχίας ἱκέτευον, ἀσθένειαν αἰτιώμενοι καὶ τὸ ἀπορεῖν τὰ κοινά. δίκαιον μὲν οὖν πλησίον ἤδη τῆς χρείας οὕτως ἐπειγούσης, εἰ καὶ πρόσθεν οὐκ ἔδοτε, νῦν ἐπιπέμψαι· πλέον γὰρ ἂν ἑτίμα τὴν ὑπουργίαν ὑμῶν ὁ καιρός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑοίκατε τὴν κακίω τοῦ πολέμου προλαβεῖν ἐλπίδα, τῇ μὲν ἀσθενείᾳ ὑμῶν, ἣν αἰτιᾶσθε, ἥδομαι· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἂν ἠχθέσθην ἀκούων ἰσχύειν κακοὺς ὄντας. τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ὑμῶν συμμάχους μὲν οὐκέτι, ὑπουργοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας ἕξω. λέληθε δ' ὑμᾶς οὐδαμῶς ὡς δεινὸν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου μετασχεῖν νίκης, εἰ γένοιτο, τοὺς τό γ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμᾶς ἀσθένειαν προδιδόντας.

μ'. Κ.-Β. Τὸ σπουδαῖον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν πολλάκις ὑπουργήσαμεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς παρὰ σοῦ δωρεαῖς μαρτυρηθὲν ἐδόκει πεπιστεῦσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς κατὰ προαίρεσιν οὐχ ἅπαντες ὁμονοοῦσιν οἱ καιροί, τί δεῖ μέρος ἔχθρας ἀριθμῆσαι τὴν πότε ἀσθένειαν; πᾶν γὰρ αὖ τοὐναντίον μιᾶς ὑποληπτέον μεγαλοψυχίας, ὡς τὸ πολυδωρεῖν τοὺς ὀρθῶς διακονήσαντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ συγγνώμην ὑπουτιμήσει χαρίζεσθαι. σὺ δὲ πρὸς ἐφήδεσθαι τῇ ἀδυναμίᾳ ἔφης ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ οὐχί σοι ἐλλείπειν μέλλοντος, ὅσον ἂν ἡμῖν ἐνδέῃ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας εἴτε συμμάχους εἴτε ὑπουργοὺς ἐθέλεις, οὐ διοισόμεθα γὰρ περὶ ὀνομάτων, ἄπαγε· ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰ ἀπεγνώκειμεν τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλπίδας, οὐκ ἂν ἐθεραπεύομεν αὐτὰς πρεσβευόμενοι. νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα εὐχόμενοι περὶ σοῦ καὶ νὴ Δία προσδοκῶντες, εἰ καὶ τῶν ἐπινικίων ἀπελαθησόμεθα ὡς ἐχθροί, τῆς γοῦν χαρᾶς μεθέξομεν ὡς φίλοι.

[1] App. *Bell. Civ.* v. 137. The gladiators, we are told by Dio (LI. 17), were being trained by Antony for the games by which he intended to signalise his victory over Octavianus. After Actium they made for Egypt overland, but were intercepted in Cilicia.

[2] Dio Cass. LIV. 7. Sueton. *Aug.* 47. Zon. X. 34. Syncellus 593 B. Augustus probably visited Cyzicus in person, cf. inscr. and note in *Beitr. z. Alt. Gesch.* V. 300.

a serious disturbance warranting a curtailment of their privileges[1]. For general reasons "free cities" in Asia were not desirable, as hindering the consistent government of the province as a whole, and a maritime state especially had a dangerous amount of power. Rhodes was similarly disfranchised by Claudius.

The freedom of the city was restored[2] by Agrippa during his eastern progress[3] (17—13 B.C.), as appears from an inscription of the early part of Caligula's reign, mentioning the favour of Agrippa and implying that he was considered the second founder of the city[4]: a temple of Augustus was at the same time begun. The empress Livia, probably to the disgust of Tiberius, was associated in the cult of the Pergamene Athena Polias Nikephoros[5], and her priesthood was assumed by Tryphaena, wife of Cotys of Thrace, a benefactress of the city and a connection of the imperial house: an attempt was made to popularise the loyal cult by the celebration of the Panathenaea in honour of "Livia Sebaste Nikephoros and the greatest god Tiberius" with unusual splendour, and so of attracting to the festival by the proclamation of a free market the trade of the other cities of Asia. This is quite in accordance with that principle of Imperial Government which aimed at breaking down the barriers of local prejudice by making the cult of the emperors the rallying point of its heterogeneous empire: athletic festivals bringing international commerce in their train were a powerful factor.

Tiberius.

Tiberius found reason to deprive the city once more of its privileges in 25 A.D., on account of an alleged maltreatment of Roman citizens. A second charge was brought forward—rather characteristic, if we may believe Tacitus' accounts of Tiberius' punctilio on this point—imputing to the citizens neglect of the rites of the Divine Augustus, or, more specifically, failure to complete the heroön they had begun in

[1] The behaviour of Verres at Lampsacus (Cic. *in Verr.* I. 24) was probably not an isolated instance.

[2] Dio Cass. LIV. 23.

[3] This was perhaps the occasion when Agrippa bought the pictures mentioned by Pliny XXXV. 25: his presence can be traced at Ilium (*C.I.G.* 3609), where he was in 16, Lampsacus (Str. 504), and Parium (coin in B. M. 85).

[4] Inscr. I. 14.

[5] At Pergamon Julia Livilla is the companion of Athena. Fraenkel II. 497, 498.

his honour[1]. It is significant that in the following year when fourteen Asiatic cities, including several not of first-class importance, petitioned for leave to erect a temple to Tiberius, Cyzicus is not among them[2].

The death of Tiberius lifted the cloud. We have no definite mention of a second restoration of the franchise, but an inscription of the first year of Caligula[3], couched in excessively loyal terms, in which moreover the young emperor is named as eponymous hipparch, warrants us in supposing that he was responsible for a restoration of some at least of the lost privileges: we may even surmise that this favour was obtained through the good offices of Tryphaena; her influence at court, as Professor Ramsay has remarked, really dates from Caligula, who was a kinsman of hers through their common ancestress Antonia. Gaius Caesar is at once hipparch and god, no new combination for the Cyzicenes, who had already conferred the magistracy on Poseidon. As god the emperor is styled the new Sun[4], while his deceased sister Drusilla figures as the New Aphrodite[5], and is honoured like Livia with games.

In the same reign Tryphaena, who, probably owing to her husband's ancestral connection with the town through Satala[6], evidently took the keenest interest in it, undertook a thorough dredging and reconstruction of the harbours[7], including the reopening of the channels through the bridges; these latter had been purposely blocked in the previous reign, probably with a view to securing communication with the mainland when pirates were rife in the Hellespont[8].

From Caligula to Hadrian, history fails us completely[9].

[1] Tac. *Ann.* IV. 36. Suet. *Tiberius*, 37. Dio Cass. LVI. 24.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* IV. 25. [3] Inscr. I. 14.

[4] Inscr. I. 13. Suet. 22 tells us that he was worshipped in Rome unofficially as Jupiter Latiaris, but had also a temple of his own.

[5] Inscr. I. 13. She was worshipped in Rome with the attributes of Aphrodite and the name of Panthea (Dio Cass. LIX. 11) and at Smyrna with the attributes of Persephone (*B. M. Catal. Ionia*, 271. Pl. XXXVIII. 9. Cf. Miletus, B. M. 143, *θεὰ Δρουσίλλα*: see also *Ἀθηναῖον* X. 528. 2 (Epidaurus)).

[6] *Eph. Epig.* II. 251. [7] *J. H. S.* XXII. 132 f. etc.

[8] Cf. *C.I.G.* 3612.

[9] To this period belongs a stray notice (in a scholion on Aristides, quoted by Keil, *Hermes*, 1897) of a palace built at Cyzicus by Vespasian.

Tryphaena's family apparently continued their interest in the city for several generations[1]. The joint dedication of the Roman residents and the Cyzicenes to Claudius[2] and the honorary appointment of the praetor Fuscus under Hadrian to the office of strategus points to an outward harmony at least between the natives and Romans[3].

The period of unsurpassed prosperity for the Roman provinces which opened with the second century A.D. was naturally unproductive of historical events in the ordinary sense, and we have as yet, curiously enough, no record at Cyzicus of munificent and public-spirited citizens such as are characteristic of the age. Almost the only events are the occasional visits of the emperors, and the great festivals connected with their worship in the Asiatic cities. The position of Cyzicus in this period does not seem vitally different from that of the other great cities of Asia, and it is not apparent that she had regained the special privileges of a free city: the status of all cities was evidently equalised as much as possible under the imperial rule, on the one hand by the appointment of the imperial accountant (λογιστὴς) in the free cities, thus placing them in a direct relation to the government, and on the other by the extension of the privileges of the ordinary provincial towns. This equalising process culminates in the extension of the franchise to the whole Roman world under Caracalla.

The senatorial rulers of the province are fairly often found occupying the magistracies of Cyzicus, among them the young Antoninus[4], proconsul in 120[5], who evidently visited Cyzicus during his term of office: it was here that he was given the

[1] Cf. Inscr. III. 26. S. Julius [Cotys?], perhaps a great-grandson of Tryphaena, contemporary with C. Julius Cotys temp. Titus at Laodicea (*Coll. Wadd.* 6271, 6272).

[2] Inscr. III. 1. Here the Romans take precedence of the Cyzicenes. In Inscr. III. 14 (a Greek inscription) the reverse is the case.

[3] The reverse *Heracles Ktistes* on a coin of Domitian (Mionn. 163, Supp. 213) rests on the doubtful authority of Sestini and Vaillant. Domitian was certainly worshipped as Heracles in Rome (Martial IX. 64, 65, 101) and Ktistes was a title easily earned in Asia by the foundation of games and institutions. Our only inscription of Domitian is from Apollonia (III. 2). The dedication to Artemis Sebaste Baiiane at Buyuk tepe keui on the upper Granicus (IV. 60) seems to me another relic of local Flavian cultus. The goddess is perhaps Julia Titi.

[4] Coin in Waddington Collection (*Inventaire* 726).

[5] Waddington, *Fastes*, 724.

rather obscure omen of his future career, "the crown of Jupiter (Hadrian?) was transferred to his statue[1]."

In 124[2] Hadrian himself on his Asiatic progress left abundant traces of his visit in the city and neighbourhood of Cyzicus. Hadriani, Hadrianeia, Hadrianopolis, and Hadrianutherae, took his name, while the numerous inscriptions, common also to the rest of Asia, naming him "Olympian[3] Saviour and Founder[4]," hint at his activity especially in the matter of building: this is exemplified at Apollonia by the still existent architrave blocks[5] of a building erected by him, and at Cyzicus itself by the immense temple associated with his name. The time of his visit was opportune, for the cities of the district had but a year before suffered severely from one of the periodical earthquakes.

Hadrian's Temple.

The history of Hadrian's temple has been rendered complicated by the assumption that Aristides' speech in 167 A.D.[6] was made at the actual dedication of the temple; this complication is avoided if we suppose (and I find nothing in the words of the speech or its *lemma* to contradict the supposition) that it was made at the dedication anniversary —naturally the day on which the games were held: the era of the Olympia at Cyzicus is shewn by Boeckh[7] to have been 139 A.D. Thus it would not be necessary for Aristides to allude to the vicissitudes of the temple's history as it would be in an inaugural speech.

The history of the temple then becomes easily understood. The building was begun, as we know from a scholiast on Lucian[8], some centuries before the time of Hadrian, but, like

[1] *Vit. Antonini* III.

[2] Dürr, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, pp. 59, 67.

[3] Socrates III. 23 (*ad fin.*) says that Hadrian was reckoned the thirteenth Olympian at Cyzicus.

[4] Inscrr. III. 3—9 incl.

[5] Inscr. VI. 22.

[6] So Masson, *Coll. ad vitam Aristidis*.

[7] Adnot. in *C.I.G.* 3674. The chronology of Aristides and the temple is discussed by Keil in *Hermes*, 1897, 497. His very ingenious deductions from the *Eteoneus* speech as to damage done to a temple of Persephone do not, I think, warrant the complete separation of this temple from that of Hadrian: it is perfectly in accord with what we know of Imperial Asia to suppose that Hadrian and Persephone were associated as *σύνθρονοι*, especially as a Persephone-Faustina appears on the coinage.

[8] *Icarom.* 24 (Reitz). The fact that the temple is built over a spring rather suggests that the site was old.

the Olympieum at Athens, discontinued for want of funds. It may possibly have been the temple mentioned by Pliny[1] in the walls of which a gold thread was inlaid—a peculiarity noticed by Cyriac[2] in the ruins he saw at Cyzicus—and in which "was to be dedicated" (significantly) a group of statuary representing Zeus crowned by Apollo. An earthquake in 123[3] called forth Hadrian's munificence during his visit to Cyzicus in the following year[4]. He gave large gifts to the city, began the temple, and paved an agora, most likely the one adjoining the temple. It was probably inaugurated, as we have said, in 139. It was apparently seriously damaged by an earthquake in the time of Antoninus[5], when a speech before the Senate by the young Aurelius secured further subsidies for the city[6]; the temple was still standing in the time of Anastasius[7], and, in spite of the later earthquakes, thirty-one columns still remained in the middle of the fifteenth century[8]. There is every probability that the life of the temple was prolonged by its use as a church in Byzantine times. A hint of this is given by the name "Hodja Kilisseh," given by the Turks to its ruins.

Before or beside[9] the temple of Hadrian stood the great altar of Persephone. The features of the latter, as numismatists have remarked, are on coins frequently assimilated to those of Faustina the younger, and it is quite possible that the restored altar was dedicated to her: as a reference to her parentage may

[1] *N.H.* XXXVI. 23.

[2] *B.C.H.* XIV. 540. Cf. *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.* 1890, p. 117.

[3] Joh. Malal. XI. 2 = 279 B. *Chron. Pasch.* 254, καὶ ἐν Κυζίκῳ ναὸν ἔκτισεν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ πλατεῖαν ἔστρωσε μαρμάροις.

[4] Dürr, *Reisen des K. Hadrian*, pp. 54, 69.

[5] Xiphilinus LXX. 4. Cf. Zonaras XII. 1 (for the earthquake Boissonade, *Anecd.* IV. 467). Keil puts the date between 150—155 A.D. (l.c. p. 502).

[6] Fronto, *lett. ad Ant.* I. 2, 162 A.D.? M. Antoninus as Caesar is concerned in the S.C. de Corpore Neon (*C.I.G.* 7060). Mommsen says "Patrocinium quoddam Cyzicenorum apud eum, domumque eius fuisse non sine veri specie conicietur" (*Eph. Epig.* III. 156).

[7] *Anth. Pal.* IX. 656.

[8] Cyriac, see *B.C.H.* XIV. 540. When Cyriac was at Cyzicus the building was already being plundered for building material, and du Chastel saw the machines by which marble was raised for the turbeh of Mohammed III. The process has continued till very little marble remains on the spot.

[9] So coins, but the great altar is usually placed at the west end of a temple.

underlie the obscure "nympharum a Jove productarum" of the inscription preserved by Cyriac.

Of the later Antonines we have a hint at the worship of Commodus as the Roman Heracles[1] and a mention of the games called Commodea[2].

Severus and Niger.

The peace of Asia was interrupted at length by the civil war between Septimus Severus and Pescennius Niger. Cyzicus, unlike her rival Byzantium, was fortunate enough to choose the winning side, and saw with equanimity the defeat outside her walls of Aemilianus, the general of Niger, followed by his apprehension and death[3].

Caracalla, perhaps in consideration of the loyalty of Cyzicus to his father, granted the city the honour of a second Neocorate together with the title Antoniniane[4] and probably games called Antoninea[5]. Th. Reinach[6] has shewn that the attribution of the second neocorate to Severus[7], based on the testimony of a coin published by Mionnet[8] after Sestini, is more than doubtful. Caracalla, besides being especially prodigal of neocorates, is known to have been at Nicomedia[9], after visiting Pergamon and Ilion in 214[10], so that Cyzicus would lie naturally on his way. The temple would very appropriately be designed for the worship of the family of Caracalla, including his father Severus and his mother Domna[11].

[1] Coin in Mionn. 208. Cf. Supp. 327. [2] *C.I.G. Ital.* 738 (Naples).

[3] So Xiphil. LXXIV. 14, Herod. III. 2, who represent the campaign as fought out in the Taurus. The *Vitae* (Severi 5, Pescennii 8, 9, cf. Oros. VII. 17, Paul Diac. X., Aur. Victor. XX.) make the battle of Cyzicus the final engagement, and place after it the flight of Pescennius to the "palus" (the lake of Manyas?) and his execution. A coin (Mionn. Supp. 365, B.M. 247) representing Severus with a trophy beside a river-god labelled *Aesepus*, gives some clue to the site of the battlefield. The comparative rarity of the name Pescennius tempts one to connect *C.I.G.* 3669, a dedication of Pescennius Onesimus to the Highest God, with this event, though, unless we regard Onesimus as a deserted slave or freedman, it is hard to understand the expression εὐχαριστήριον νίκης.

[4] Mionn. 216—220 and *Supp.* 377 ff.

[5] Cf. *C.I.G.* 246, 248 (Athens). Coins of Byzantium B.M. 76, 78, 98. Perrot and Guillaume *Exploration de la Galatie* I. 31 (21).

[6] *Rev. Num.* VIII. 244. [7] Büchner *de Neocoria* p. 106.

[8] *Supp.* 368. Cf. 369, 370.

[9] *B.C.H.* X. 405. Dio Cass. LXXVII. 19. Herod. IV. 7—10.

[10] *C.I.L.* VI. 2103.

[11] The obscure reference in Dio LXXIX. 7, to an attempt by an adventurer to

The empty honour of the neocorate, however, was more than counterbalanced by the material loss sustained by Cyzicus when Severus dismantled the fortifications of Byzantium in revenge for that city's support of Pescennius. This deprived Cyzicus and the Propontis of a very necessary protection, as was seen when some half century later the barbarians of the Black Sea shore began to sweep without hindrance through the Bosporus to ravage Bithynia and the Hellespontine province. Though the city appears never to have been actually sacked, it became the objective of repeated Scythian expeditions. We hear of at least three in the pages of Zosimus, Trebellienus Pollio and Syncellus. The discrepancy between the accounts of Zosimus, who expressly states that the barbarians were kept from the city by the flood of the Rhyndacus, and that of Trebellienus, who mentions Cyzicus alone of the cities of Asia that suffered in one of the many incursions, can hardly be left unexplained, and the most natural explanation is that there were two separate attempts on the city of which the second only was successful. Trebellienus gives us under the reign of Gallienus (c. 4) a short notice of the campaign which culminated in the burning of Nicomedia. Zosimus' more circumstantial account mentions the frustrated attempt on Cyzicus, dating it evidently before the capture of Valerian (260), for it is Valerian who sends troops to the rescue of Bithynia while himself at Antioch on his way to the Persian war.

Later invasions of Asia are mentioned in Trebellienus' chapters 6, 7, 11; and in chapter 13, after Gallienus has sent help to Byzantium to repair the damage inflicted by the Goths on the Danube provinces, comes the definite statement that the barbarians "wasted Cyzicus" (vastaverunt Cyzicum): this is preferably considered as referring to the island or peninsula of Cyzicus, for the Scythians were normally repulsed before walled towns where resistance was offered: the access of prestige given

seize a fleet lying in the port of Cyzicus "when Pseudantoninus wintered in Nicomedia" is best relegated to a footnote. Pseudantoninus was a name given by Elagabalus in derision to Diadumenian (*Vit. Elagab.* 8), but we have no record of the latter wintering in Nicomedia, though Elagabalus did so on his way to Rome (Herod. v. 5): his doubtful birth makes the name quite as appropriate to him as to his rival.

them by the purely lucky capture of Trapezus probably accounts for the abandonment of Chalcedon and Nicomedia, nor is the storming of the other Bithynian cities mentioned: a hundred years later, too, Cyzicus had an enceinte considered impregnable[1]: Ammianus Marcellinus, in his short summary of the Gothic wars of Gallienus' reign[2], only notices a *siege* of Cyzicus (circumsedit multitudo) and Thessalonica, which latter, we know, was not taken. The death of Gallienus (268) which took place a little later, indeed after defeating these same Scythians in Illyria, gives some clue to the date.

A third descent on Cyzicus occurred during the reign of Claudius Gothicus. A mixed horde of Scythians and Herules passed the Bosporus, and, their ships becoming unmanageable in the mouth of the Hellespont, such as escaped disaster turned on Cyzicus, where, however, they were repulsed[3]. Syncellus apparently includes a version of this affair among the Scythic campaigns of Gallienus, as he mentions a descent of Scythians and Herules on the *πόρθμιον τῆς Κυζίκου*[4].

[1] Amm. Marc. XXXVI. 8.
[2] XXXI. 5, 16, 'circumsedit multitudo.' [3] Zos. I. 43. [4] 717 B.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONSTANTINE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

THE reorganisation of the province of Asia under Diocletian, about 297 A.D.[1], made Cyzicus the capital of the province of Hellespontus (which included roughly Troas and Lesser Phrygia), the seat of a consular governor[2], and the head-quarters of a legion[3]: the division remained, after the introduction of the themes, as the ecclesiastical province of Hellespont under the archbishop of Cyzicus.

Constantine.

Constantine's choice of Byzantium as the new capital of the East was necessarily a great blow to Cyzicene prosperity, meaning as it did the diversion not only of the entire Black Sea trade, but also that of the Mediterranean, to her ancient rival, and reducing her to the position of a mere purveyor, by the land routes reorganised in this reign, to the needs of the new capital[4]. Protection from the north was indeed secured, but the danger was soon to come from the other quarter. Henceforward we shall find the history of Cyzicus but a feeble echo of that of events in the capital.

A bare hundred years after the invasion of the Goths the city was again involved in a civil war[5]. The pretender Procopius, who had already been proclaimed at Constantinople, occupied Bithynia in defiance of Valens, and sent a force under Marcellus against the metropolis of the Hellespontine province; the latter was held by Serenianus with a body of imperial cavalry and some irregular troops. We have

Procopius, 365 A.D.

[1] Wadd. *Fastes*, Preface II. 661. [2] Hierocles.

[3] Legio II. Trajana is mentioned under Licinius in the Life of S. Theogenes *Acta SS.* Jan. 3.

[4] Cf. Schlumberger *Sigill. Byz.* p. 197 (temp. Heraclii) Ἰωάννου ὑπάτου καὶ γενικοῦ κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Κυ[ζίκου.

[5] Amm. Marc. XXXVI. 8, Zos. IV. 6 = 180 B. (365 A.D.).

seen from Syncellus' account of the Gothic raids that the city could still be severed from the mainland: the *enceinte* was considered impregnable, but Marcellus chose the harbour mouth as his point of attack. The walls were probably (as at Constantinople) continued as moles so as to enclose the port, leaving only the necessary entrance, which was blocked by a chain. An officer of Marcellus' force, advancing under cover of a *testudo* formed upon three ships lashed together, severed the chain with an axe: the harbour once forced, the town was at the invaders' mercy. Procopius appeared in person and granted an amnesty to the defenders, with the exception of Serenianus, who was sent to Nicaea[1]. With the strongly fortified town he obtained possession of the military treasury. The revolt was put down by Valens in 366.

In the seventeenth year of Justinian[2] an earthquake destroyed half the city[3], and to this, probably, Justinian owed the marbles he carried away for the building of S. Sophia[4]: the example had been set by Constantine, who removed the Dindymene image[5] to the forum at Constantinople, and was followed by other rulers, both Greek and Turkish. This earthquake may also have been the beginning of the migration to Artace of which we shall speak later.

From Heraclius (610—641) dates the reorganisation of Asia on the military basis of Themes[6], and under him the mint of Cyzicus as of most provincial Byzantine mints is abandoned. The Obsequian theme[7], to which Cyzicus belonged, had Nicaea for its capital and included, besides the whole of the Hellespontine province, parts of Bithynia, Galatia and Phrygia: Cyzicus is eighth on the list of its cities as enumerated by Porphyrogenitus.

[1] Zosimus says he escaped but was taken and killed in Lydia, IV. 6.

[2] A sedition at Cyzicus in this reign, resulting in the murder of the archbishop (Joh. Malal. 480 B, Procop. *Bell. Pers.* 135—6 B, *Hist. Arc.* 105 B), seems from our scanty accounts to have been merely the continuation of a Constantinople party quarrel by John the Cappadocian, who was relegated after the Nika riots to a monastery of the Kapu Dagh: the latter, like Marmara, was a not unusual place of banishment (cf. Theoph. 287 B).

[3] Cedren. 656 B. Zon. XIV. 6. [4] Codinus *de Struct. S. Sophiae* 65.

[5] Possibly also the bronze sundial mentioned as of Cyzicene origin by Codinus *de Aed. C. P.* 75 B.

[6] Const. Porph. *de Them.* p. 25 B.

[7] *θέμα τοῦ Ὀψικίου.* The Islands counted with the Aegean theme.

Many causes were contributing to her gradual decay; the lack of municipal activity characteristic of provincial towns in the Byzantine period, led to neglect of the channel through the isthmus on which her commercial prosperity depended; though the Byzantine aqueduct across the old harbour shews that the site was not abandoned at once, the activity of the port must have shifted to Artace, where there is a good natural anchorage, quite sufficient, probably, for the reduced shipping. We do not know when this occurred. There is no mention of a town suffering in 1063[1], when serious damage was done to the temple of Hadrian by an earthquake, and the site was probably abandoned by this time: the Byzantines use both *Cyzicus* and *Artace* ambiguously of the island and the town, and so late as the early fourteenth century, when we know from other sources that the old city lay in ruins, Pachymeres refers consistently to "Cyzicus" when his contemporaries speak of Artaki, and even of the Cape of Artace for the Kapu Dagh.

The place, whether Cyzicus or Artace, lay open to any invaders of Constantinople, and felt the first invasion by the Saracens severely. The latter, repulsed with their fleet from the sea walls of the capital, retired to Cyzicus for the winter of 668 and seven succeeding years[2]. Under Justinian II a Cypriote colony took refuge here from the ravages of the same Saracens[3], who are later frequently found ravaging the coasts of the Propontis with impunity[4]. Nicephorus Bryennius in 1078, like the Saracens, used the port as a naval basis for his attempt on the capital, and extorted revenues from the inhabitants of the peninsula[5]. There is no mention of an action or of a town, and the inhabitants are referred to significantly as ἐγχώριοι not πολῖται.

[1] Zonaras XVIII. 9. Joh. Scyl. 816 B. Mich. Attal. 90 B. In the *Oracula* of Opsopoeus, ed. 1607, III. pp. 251, 252, the fall of Cyzicus is attributed to the sea and the Rhyndacus; in IV. 292, to earthquakes.

[2] Cedren. I, 765 B. Zon. III. 223 B. Cons. Porph. *de Adm. Imp.* 48. Niceph. Chon. 22 B. Ephr. 1045. Of the Arab historians Al Tabari refers to the "capture (in 674 A.D.) by Gunada, the son of Abu Umaya, of an island in the sea near Kustantiniyya called Arwad, and Mahomet, son of 'Umar, records that the Moslems remained in it for a space, as he says, of seven years." They reached Constantinople in this year and wintered in the land of the Romans (*J.H.S.* XVIII. 187).

[3] Cons. Porph. *loc. cit.* 47.

[4] Theoph. Cont. IV. 22, V. 60.

[5] Zon. III. 717 B. Mich. Attal. 258 B.

CHAPTER XXII.

TURKS AND FRANKS.

WE stand now upon the threshold of the troubled period marked by the first sporadic Turkish invasions of the Hellespontine province. The brunt of their attack fell naturally upon the outlying forts of Apollonia, Lopadium and Poemanenum, rather than on Cyzicus, which, lying far from the frontiers, has for the Turkish wars no strategic importance till the last act of the drama, when, as we shall see, it formed one of the last rallying places of the Byzantines in Asia.

Alexius Comnenus.

The reign of Alexius Comnenus is remarkable for a series of Turkish raids on Bithynia and the Hellespontine province, still more for the energetic reprisals taken by the Byzantines; the troops Alexius used for his *coup d'état* were placed under his command by Botaniates for the purpose of avenging the Turkish capture and sack of Cyzicus[1], but we hear nothing of a recapture, and may conclude from the nature of the subsequent wars that this was a foray rather than an attempt at conquest, and that the invaders dispersed with their booty after the sack.

In 1085 Cyzicus, Apollonia and Poemanenum were taken and held by the Turkish chieftain Elkhan[2]. The fleet despatched by Alexius up the river to Apollonia after capturing the outer town, was forced to retire at the news of approaching Turkish reinforcements: the Turks occupied the Lopadium bridge at the outlet of the lake and the fleet was annihilated. An army under Upus met with better success, taking Cyzicus by assault: from here a small body of picked troops retook Poemanenum, whereat Apollonia surrendered.

[1] Anna II. 3—4 *τὴν πόλιν τῆς Κυζίκου* = Artaki?

[2] Anna VI. 13.

In 1113[1] a combined raid of the Emirs devastated Bithynia, and Apollonia fell again into the hands of the Turks. The governor of Cyzicus fled in panic, and the invaders, perhaps concerting with a fleet[2], captured it "from the side of the sea," the isthmus wall being probably by this time the only defence of the peninsula. The land force then dispersed, one portion taking the coast road by Parium to Adramyttium and Chliara, the other making southwards through the Lentiana to Poemanenum. Camytzes was despatched against them from Nicaea with strict orders not to fight. The Turks, thinking that Alexius was himself on their heels, dispersed to the hills, leaving a great part of their booty in the hands of Camytzes at a place called Aorata. The latter, elated by his success, lingered at Aorata instead of making his way to Poemanenum, where he could have maintained himself pending the arrival of reinforcements. The Turks rallied, defeated his army, and took him prisoner, after which they continued their homeward march. Alexius marched round the eastern spurs of Olympus in order to intercept the retreating Turks further south, and confronting them at Acrocus defeated them with great loss, but was himself severely handled by the second army which had now completed its circuit of the Troad[3].

A third invasion took place in 1117[4]. Alexius, hearing that the Turks were in the plain of Manyas[5], encamped just short of the Lopadium bridge at the "Spicer's Fountain," intending to

[1] Anna XIV. 5.

[2] Cf. VII.

[3] This campaign, rendered exceedingly difficult by the lack of topographical knowledge, has been explained by Ramsay (*Geog.* 208) and Munro (p. 170 sqq.). The former assumes that the Turks were making for Dorylaeum and consequently places the scene of the campaign east of the Macestus. The latter who has since, I believe, altered his views on Poemanenum, placed Aorata near Kebsud. Anna's mention of Philadelphia and Acrocus together (XIV. 6) seems to imply that the great road due south (so Roger de Flor marches by Achyraous to Philadelphia, Pachy. 243 B) is concerned, and the mention of *the* reed bed in the account of the battle may associate it with the later Calamus (the Kalamor of the Crusaders, modern Gelembe). The Turks are said to come from Carmé, which Ramsay identifies with Germe (near Soma?).

[4] Anna XV. 1.

[5] *τὴν κατὰ τοὺς πρόποδας τῶν Λεντιανῶν καὶ τῆς οὕτω καλουμένης Κοτοιραικίας διακειμένην πεδιάδα.*

attack next day. The Turks lighted numerous watch-fires, so as to give a false idea both of their numbers and position, and made off towards Poemanenum in the darkness, perhaps intending to disperse into the hill country of the Kyrmaz Dagh or to retreat south by the Pergamon road; Alexius, unable to catch them, encamped near Poemanenum with his main body and sent out a small light-armed force which defeated the Turks at Cellia. The succeeding emperors consolidated the work of Alexius by the building of Lopadium and Achyraous. A satisfactory comprehension of such guerrilla campaigns is only to be obtained from a first-hand writer as is shewn by the discrepancies between the professional historians and the writers on the spot in the succeeding wars of the Crusaders.

The Franks.

The capture of Constantinople by the Latins and the division of the Byzantine empire among the various feudal lords was followed by an attempt to extend the Frankish rule into Asia. By the Partitio Romaniae[1] the emperor received the greater part of north-west Asia Minor, including Nicomedia, Achyraous, Neocastron, Adramyttium, Chliara and Pergamum; Bithynia, where Theodore Lascaris occupied the throne of Nicaea, and the Hellespontine region suffered severely[2] in the struggle for mastery.

In our district lands were allotted to Pierre de Braiecuel, Payen d'Orleans, Anseau de Cayeux, and Eustace, brother of the emperor. The first named seems to have obtained the lordship of the Kapu Dagh[3], of which under the name of "terre d'Équise[4]" Villehardouin makes frequent mention: he describes it as "une terre que la mer clooit tote, sors que une part, et a l'entrée par où on entroit avoit eu anciennement fortresce de murs, de tors, de fosses."

The first expedition crossed to Pegae, already a colony of Italian traders, in November 1204, and marched east. Panormus

[1] Muratori XII. 328 ff. = Tafel and Thomas CXXI. (I. p. 453).

[2] See Villehardouin's detailed account of the first campaigns and Nicetas' summary of the whole (388 B).

[3] Villehardouin 236.

[4] Cf. Albericus Trium Fontium MCCIV. "Insula ultra Brachium quae vocatur Cyzicum id est Eskisia," and Lequien's bishops XV. and XLII. "Quizicinensium, Quisicensis."

was chosen as the headquarters of the Franks, whence they sallied out and ravaged the surrounding country.

Theodore met them on S. Nicholas' day in the plain below Poemanenum[1] with a much superior force and was defeated with great loss[2]. Within a week the Crusaders were in possession of Poemanenum (Le Pumenienor) "a very strong castle," Lopadium (Le Lupaire) "one of the best cities of the land," and Apollonia (Le Pulinach) "situated on a lake of fresh water, one of the strongest and best castles one could seek."

They thus held the keys of the Province from the side of Nicaea. Henry of Flanders had meanwhile secured the Troad. The Franks were then recalled by troubles on the European side and forced to abandon all their conquests but Pegae.

Two years later[3] however they again ravaged the country in revenge for Theodore's alleged neglect of terms. This time the site of Cyzicus was chosen as the headquarters of the army. De Braiecuel began to repair the dilapidated walls and to build two castles at the entrances, and the guerrilla warfare was renewed till Theodore contrived, by intriguing with the Wallachs, to secure the recall of the Franks for home defence (1207). He seized the opportunity to attack the isthmus wall and blockade Cius by sea and land. Henry of Flanders came gallantly to the rescue and the relief of Cius was probably the signal for the withdrawal of the Greek troops from Cyzicus also. No sooner, however, had Henry turned thus back than a new attack was made on Cyzicus by sea and land, while the inhabitants of the peninsula and of Marmara revolted against their feudal lords. Henry once more fitted out an expedition and drove the Byzantine fleet down the Hellespont: the army retired and Cyzicus was relieved, but the same year the Greeks insisted on the dismantling of the fortifications in return for a two years' truce.

Peace did not last long. Bickering began as early as 1208[4], and in 1211 Henry crossed in person to Pegae and was challenged before its walls by the Greek army ere his whole

[1] Villehardouin, par. 170.

[2] Nicetas (795—6 B) represents the battle as an incident in a continuous march from Pegae and Lopadium. Cf. *J.G.S.* 1897, 258.

[3] Villehardouin 236 (1206).

[4] *Ep. Innoc. III.* xi. 47.

force was disembarked[1]: in spite of his opportunity Theodore was defeated. The Franks then reverted to their old tactics, making cavalry raids as far as Lopadium, and probably taking Lentiana on their way[2]. Theodore kept to the hills and contented himself with cutting off supplies till the inhabitants demanded his active interference. He drew Henry into battle as he lay encamped near Lopadium[3], but the Franks defeated him without the loss of a man. The moral effect of this action was so great that Theodore's troops dared not meet the Franks again, and having retaken most of his old possessions, Henry retired into winter quarters at Pergamon. By the terms of the ensuing peace[4], Henry's frontier was marked eastwards by Lopadium and southward by Mount Cyminas: the village of Calamus (Gelembe) was neutral, while Pergamus and Chliara were restored to Theodore.

The Latin supremacy was short-lived. In 1220 John Vatatzes retook Poemanenum, Cyzicus, and almost all the Asiatic conquests[5]. Pegae alone remained, and this last remnant was surrendered in 1225[6]. Except for the unsuccessful campaign of John de Brienne in 1233[7], who took only the fort called Ceramidas, besides Pegae, and effected nothing permanent, the Crusaders interfered no more in the history of the Hellespont, and the Turks come again into prominence.

[1] Letter of Henry in *Recueil* XVIII. 530, dated 1212 from Pergamum. De Muralt gives 1214.

[2] Acrop. XVI. [3] "juxta Luparci fluvium." [4] Acrop. XV. (1214).

[5] Alberic A.D. 1220. Acrop. XXII.

[6] Acrop. XXIII. [7] Acrop. XXX.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TURKISH CONQUEST.

THE restored emperors of Constantinople, by fomenting the quarrels of the west, succeeded in recovering from the Franks some part of their ancient dominions in Europe. Asia meanwhile was left to the Turks, and the rise of the Osmanlis was marked by their permanent establishment at Brusa at the opening of the fourteenth century. About the same time the Seljuks of Karassi overran western Asia Minor with fleet and army right up to the shores of the Propontis. In 1303, when the Grand Company under Roger de Flor appeared at the court of Andronicus, the inhabitants of the raided Hellespontine province had fled with their possessions within the wall of the isthmus of Cyzicus, now newly fortified by the energy of the metropolitan Niphon. The emperor, fearing that the accumulation of treasure within the isthmus wall would tempt the cupidity of the Turks, resolved to get rid of his dangerous guests by despatching them to winter quarters at the threatened spot, whence they were to begin the campaign in the following spring.

The Catalans.

The two accounts of the occupation of the peninsula by the Catalans differ considerably. Pachymeres[1] is biassed by a natural jealousy of the foreign troops, shewn also by the emperor Michael, who was imprudent enough to refuse Roger audience in Pegae, and fined the inhabitants for admitting him[2], and by the Greek troops in general, who constantly refused to concert with the Catalans. The Greek author, therefore, represents the Franks as monsters of iniquity: they spent the whole

[1] v. 17.

[2] Pachy. v. 17 (405—415 B).

winter carousing, and left the fighting to the small Greek contingent under Marules, to whom he assigns the whole credit of the one engagement near the "Tower of William": not only this, but the Catalans, after taking no part in the action, insisted on sharing the booty of their Greek comrades.

Muntaner, the other authority, writes first-hand, and from the standpoint of a Catalan: he considered that Michael had abandoned the defence of Cyzicus from sheer cowardice[1], and was consequently madly jealous of the Catalans; for the latter within a week from the time they left Constantinople defeated the Turks, who had been making spasmodic attacks on the isthmus wall, with a loss of 5,000. A hard-fought battle took place at a spot two leagues out between two rivers, where the Turks were encamped. The engagement must surely be identical with that described by Pachymeres, since each author relates but one notable battle during this winter.

It is worthy of remark that Muntaner always refers to Artaki and the Cape of Artaki, rather than to Cyzicus, of which his only hint is contained in the description of Artaki as a part of the city of Troy[2]. Pachymeres, on the other hand, speaks throughout of Cyzicus. Muntaner's description of the situation is very similar to Villehardouin's: "All this cape is defended by a wall built across the cape on the side of the continent of Asia, where it is not more than half a mile across from one sea to the other."

Pachymeres' accounts of the excesses of the soldiery in Cyzicus is perhaps overdrawn, but must have had a considerable basis in fact. A quartering of mercenaries on citizens such as Muntaner describes was sure to provoke friction, and the generosity of Roger, so much lauded by his follower, in excusing his soldiery all payments for provisions is less admirable if, as we cannot doubt, the expense came ultimately out of the citizens' pockets.

Mutual jealousies between the leaders of the Alan and Catalan contingents led to disturbances which culminated in

[1] Ch. 203. Cf. Pachy. v. 10, 391 B.

[2] § 214. This is the earliest mention of the tradition discussed below. Moncada (x.) speaks of Artaki as "not far from the ruins of Cyzicus."

the murder of the son of the Alan, and it was late spring[1] when Roger at last set out up the Macestus valley road, by Achyraous to the liberation of Asia; though his subsequent successes, notably at Philadelphia, were conspicuous, the loyalty of the Grand Company was naturally bounded by the extent of the emperor's treasury. When pay failed the usual defects of the mercenary system became obvious, and Roger's troops became the terror of Asia and Greece in turn. Amongst other raids they descended on Proconnesus and Artaki, but the inhabitants, no doubt cherishing bitter memories of their former sojourn, offered an obstinate resistance and beat them off[2].

Turkish Period.

From the incident of the Catalans onwards the greater part of the history of the Hellespont is naturally derived rather from Turkish than from Greek sources, and, owing to the interval between the events described and the literary period of the Turks, the accounts are somewhat inconsistent. Comparatively few, moreover, of the Turkish historians are accessible to any but an Orientalist.

At the opening of the fourteenth century the Hellespont was, as we have seen, practically in the hands of the Seljuks from the south, who overran the country to the very coast, while their frequent naval expeditions rendered both shores of the Propontis insecure. So early as 1288 the Seljuk Alaeddin III. had defeated the Tartars in the plain of Pegae[3]. The rising power of the Osmanlis, with its capital at Brusa, adjoined the territory of Karassi on the east. In 1307 Osman fixed his boundary at Ulubad in consideration of service done him by the governor of the latter[4]: an agreement then made forbade the crossing of the bridge by Osman's troops, though the condition did not prevent their crossing "in times of need" by boat. Besbicus was taken by Kara Ali[5] in 1308, and there seems to have been a temporary occupation of Pegae, one of the last possessions of the Greeks, between 1304 (when Michael was there) and 1328: it may have been retaken by the Catalans[6].

[1] April 1 (Muntaner 205). Cf. Pachy. 422 B.

[2] Muntaner 215. Pachy. 529 B, 1307. Artaki is here called the port of (the island?) Cyzicus.

[3] Von Hammer I. 71.

[4] Von Hammer I. 80. Bratutti 15.

[5] Von Hammer I. 80.

[6] Von Hammer I. 150—151.

In 1328 the Greek towns still remaining in the district were again harassed by the Karassians, and when the emperor made a pilgrimage to the Virgin of Artaki, he took the opportunity of interviewing the emir of Karassi at Pegae[1]; the latter received him with all courtesy and promised to desist. A year later the Osmanlis under Orkhan renewed their career of conquest. Nicaea was besieged and Andronicus defeated at Pelekanon: the battle was followed by the reduction of Nicaea and the subsequent fall of Nicomedia and Cius.

Orkhan next proceeded to the conquest of Karassi[2] which seems to have been effected as much by intrigue as by force of arms. Durmis Bey, son of the prince of Karassi, had been brought up at the Osmanli court, and at his father's death took advantage of his brother's unpopularity to offer Orkhan the towns of Aidinjik, Manyas, Balukiser[3], Bergama, and Edremid if he might retain his own hereditary fiefs in the Troad.

Orkhan marched through Ulubad, receiving the submission of its governor, as of the Greek governors of Kermasti and Mihallitch[4], and besieged the elder brother of Durmis in Bergama. An attempt at a peaceable settlement was followed by the murder of Durmis, and his brother, the author of the crime, was promptly surrendered by the citizens of Bergama[5].

The conquered province was given by Orkhan to his son Suleiman Pasha, who had hitherto ruled in Nicomedia and now chose Bigha as his capital[6]. Orkhan now ruled both sides of the Macestus, and Ulubad perhaps seemed to him more dangerous than useful. The governor of the town was executed on suspicion of treachery, the walls were breached, and Orkhan built a caravanserai on the site of the city[7].

The year 1356 marks the first permanent settlement of the Turks in Europe—another step to the fall of Constantinople—

[1] Cantac. I. 339 B.

[2] Ducas 13 B. Von Hammer I. 110. Bratutti I. 51, 52. Cantemir, p. 26. Leunclavius, *Annales* 23.

[3] Hadji Khalfa gives 737 as the date of the surrender of Balukiser.

[4] So Seaddin. Cantemir speaks of Ulubad also as a Greek tributary town.

[5] Cantemir.

[6] Von Hammer I. 135.

[7] Leunclavius XXIII. makes the treachery of the governor the cause of the subjection of Karassi.

and with the romantic enterprise of Suleiman pasha, resulting in the capture of Tsympe, near Gallipoli, are associated the ruins of Cyzicus[1]. The dream of the conquest of Europe came to him by chance, say the Turkish legends, when, reviewing his newly acquired territory, he came for the first time to "those strange ruines and marvellous buildings of *Solomons* Pallace now known by the name of the Fair Prospect, being the place (as they say) to which the throne of Belkis was transported. From the time of the most Excellent Solomon till now the marble stones and mighty pillars of the high fabrick have been transported thence to the edifices of Great Princes and Potentates: and to this very day the *Ottoman* Kings (whose offspring let God establish on the throne of peace) do bring from thence such wonderfull Stones for their Magnificent Churches and lofty Pallaces that the description of them would be a large subject[2]."

[1] Von Hammer I. 131. Bratutti I. 60. Leunclavius, *Pand.* par. 23. Cf. Hadji Khalfa I. 497.

[2] Seaman, *The Reign of Sultan Orchan.* Another version in the historian Jemâli, but omitted as irrelevant by Leunclavius in his translation, ascribed the Palace to the agency of Djinns working on behalf of Shemseh, daughter of Ankur, king of Ferengistan, and wife of Solomon. (*B. M. Catal. Turkish MSS*, p. 47, note on Add. 5969.) The name of Aidinjik, "little moonlight" (Von Hammer I. 152), is connected by the Turks, with the moonlight night of Suleiman's adventure, and the "palace of Solomon" or "Tamashalik" (probably the ruined amphitheatre), with the place of his dream. The throne of Balkiz may have been the imposing ruins of the Hadrian Temple, of which thirty-one columns were standing when Cyriac visited the site in 1431 (*B.C.H.* XIV. 540). The devastations of the "potentates since Solomon," who is of course a synonym for extreme antiquity, are exemplified by Justinian's removal of materials for St Sophia (cf. Evliya effendi I. 55), while the columns of the Suleimanyeh at Constantinople (Goold, *Cat. Mus. Imp.* p. 1 note), and much of the building materials of Brusa (Cyriac) were brought from Cyzicus by the Osmanlis.

As the Turks ascribed the ruins to Solomon, so the later Greeks, with equal ignorance, associated them with Troy. Gerlach (p. 255) says that in his time the Greeks called Cyzicus "Little Troy"; as Alexandria Troas, and Parium (Ansbert, "ad laevam nostram Trojam relinquentes," cf. Muntaner 214) also claimed the name, fabulous ideas as to the extent of the city were common: the Sieur des Hayes (p. 139 and map p. 338) mentions a wall which cut off the corner of Asia including the three cities. Duchastel (who recognised the absurdity of the idea) has handed down the name "Palace of Priam" as in his day applied to the ruins of the Temple of Hadrian. Fynes Moryson says, "On the way (from Gallipoli to Marmora) they shewed me a castle towards the E. upon the shore of Asia, which they say stands on the confines of the Trojan dominion and thereof hath the name till this day." The same idea underlies Meletius' note on Karabogha (Πόντος IV. 4).

Seven years after Suleiman's crossing, Pegae was besieged by Murad I on his way to Europe; isolated on land, and cut off from the capital by the ships from Aidinjik and Gallipoli, it fell an easy prey and with it ended the Greek dominion in Asia[1].

[1] Von Hammer I. 150—151.

PART III.

RELIGION.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS, CHRISTIANITY.

Religion (general).

IN considering the religion of the Cyzicene district we shall be compelled to make a distinction between Hellenic and native cults, though we can draw no hard and fast line. Speaking broadly, the Hellenic cults, of which that of Kore is the most conspicuous example, were perpetuated in the city, where the Milesian element was strongest, and where there was constant communication with the Hellenic world; while in the country round about survived the immemorial gods of the native rural population.

In Cyzicus certain local deities—especially Cybele and the hero eponymous—received official recognition, it being understood that they had on the spot a prescriptive right to worship even from aliens. It is this admixture of local cult which gave an individual character to the religion of every town in Hellenism. On the other hand, though the worship of Kore, Athena, Poseidon and others never penetrated to the villages and remained a badge of Hellenism, the Hellenic Zeus, Artemis, and Apollo were everywhere identified in name and art-type with the generally nameless village gods.

From the analogy of similar communities and the general conditions of life we may well suppose that the local gods of a village were few in number but possessed of wide functions: belonged to the Chthonians, rather than the Olympians: concerned themselves with the health of man and beast, the fertility of the soil, and the control of the elements: revealed their will

by oracles given in dreams[1]: and possessed a certain primitive moral aspect as avengers of blood and of perjury. Very intimate with their worshippers, they accepted sacrifices from their flocks and herds and delighted in their rustic dances and crude, or even gross, religious plays: these concerned themselves for the most part with the mysteries of generation, birth, and death considered with regard to men, beasts and crops.

Characteristic of the village cults are the numerous religious societies or thiasi[2], not only or even generally, as we shall see, connected with the worship of Dionysus: they are commonly organized under a leader who probably gave his pupils[3] instruction in ritual, and duly initiated them into the mysteries: the religious banquet, which connects the worship of the gods with that of the dead, is evidently an important feature of these societies, and the records of them may well be collected here: the type occurring on reliefs resembles a reduplicated "funeral banquet[4]"; it occurs

(1) On the "Nicaean" stele (III. 38 A) in connection with (Zeus) Cybele and Apollo.
(2) On a dedication to Artemis and Apollo (IV. 57).
(3) On a dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, with relief of Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis (IV. 13).
(4) On a stele where the god's name is absent (IV. 89).
(5) Members' subscriptions in money and kind are commemorated on a Sari Keui stele of Zeus (IV. 30). Musicians are also represented on (1) and (3).

All these features we have enumerated are characteristic of normal, low-culture, village religion on both sides of the Aegean; we associate it with Thrace and Asia rather than with Greece proper, simply because the village conditions are more in evidence there, and the gods of Homeric literature had not encroached with the refinements of city life.

The crude and orgiastic side of the Eleusinians or Dionysus is undoubtedly reinforced from Thrace and Asia, but the cult

[1] This was a function even of Cybele, IV. 3.
[2] Generally *θιασεῖται*: *συμμύσται* in Inscr. V. 178, *...εραι* in IV. 88.
[3] Cf. Perdrizet in *B.C.H.* XXXIII. 592.
[4] Musicians are added on Nos. 1 and 3.

had originally that character before it was affected by the less primitive ideas of townsfolk.

The villagers around Cyzicus, almost entirely Hellenic in their nomenclature, preserved the same forms of religion at least till the coming of Christianity. Philetaerus, late in the third century, saw them go up to dance before their daemons, remarked their regard for sacred trees, and vanquished for the moment their miraculous pictures and images: but to this day the dervish and the dédé remain to Islam, and the sacred well, often with the attendant tree[1], and the wonder-working eikon to Christianity[2].

Of the early Church in the Cyzicus district we have scant record. Inscriptions—the oldest are the two illiterate gravestones with the ambiguous formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν[3]—give us no information, and the Ottoman conquest has destroyed the churches and with them their traditions, save in the mountainous coast-districts of the Kapu Dagh and the Kara Dagh and in the islands. Even there records are non-existent and the inhabitants retain little but a vague idea of the destruction "by the Pope" of once important foundations.

The life of S. Philetaerus[4] attributes the origin of the Christian community of Poketos to S. Paul on his journey from Galatia to Assos[5] and represents the new religion as existing both there and at Cyzicus before Constantine. Miletupolis and Apollonia were also reputed early bishoprics. Julian notices[6] a persecution of "so-called heretics" at Cyzicus, perhaps the Novatians whose church he ordered to be erected by the bishop[7].

Wonder-working relics of S. Philetaerus and of Theogenes

[1] A beneficent "devil," inhabiting a tree in a graveyard at Balukiser, still cures boils, when appeased by the offering of an onion. Hobhouse (904) quotes a similar instance from the Dardanelles.

[2] For the whole question of Phrygian and Anatolian religion it is sufficient to refer to Professor Ramsay's chapter (III.) on *Hierapolis*. In Phrygia the late survival of native customs has permitted the existence of written monuments setting forth in plain terms what we can only infer from Phrygian analogies in the case of outwardly Hellenised Mysia.

[3] Ramsay, *Phrygia*, I_2. pp. 496 ff. attributes the formula to the 3rd century.

[4] *Acta S.* May 19. [5] Acts xvi. 8. See Ramsay, *St Paul*, 197.

[6] *Epist.* 52. [7] Socrates III. 11.

and the seven martyrs of April 29[1] were preserved at Cyzicus, and the well that sprang from the blood of S. Tryphaena[2]—a curious parody of the Cleite legend—had miraculous effects. Other local martyrs were Fausta and Evilasius, martyred under Decius[3] and Myron[4], while of the bishops, Germanus[5], Aemilianus[6], and Proclus[7] were canonised. The favourite dedications of churches in the district are the Virgin (especially Κοίμησις τῆς Παναγίας), S. George and S. Michael[8].

The name "Kodja Kilisseh" given to the ruins of Hadrian's temple perhaps imply that it was used as a church, which would explain its late survival. The memory of Hadrian was treated kindly by the Christian churches and his bust was still allowed to crown the pediment of the temple in the sixth century[9].

[1] Theogenes was buried in the villa of Adamantus near Cyzicus; the place was later visited as a healing shrine. The head of John the Baptist was said to have been brought from Cyzicus to Constantinople by Theodosius (*Chron. Pasch.* 564).

[2] Jan. 31.

[3] Sept. 20. [4] Aug. 17. [5] May 12. [6] Aug. 8.

[7] Oct. 24. See also Asseman, *Acta Martyrum* I, *Acta SS. Stratonicae et Seleuci.*

[8] Many local saints, including S. Philetaerus, are honoured with *panegyreis* in the islands. Cf. above, p. 32.

[9] Jo. Malal. 279.

CHAPTER XXV.

KORE.

APPIAN[1] tells us that "the Cyzicenes honoured Kore above all the gods." He speaks of course of the Milesian colony, who like their fathers in Miletus and Athens held fast the Hellenic traditions of Eleusis. Kore has no part in the Argonaut legend, and we hear of no ancient shrine or image; there is not a trace of her outside the city, where the native goddesses are replaced rather by Artemis as Hellenism advances.

An aetiological legend, to account for the presence of Besbicus[2], relates that Kore interfered on behalf of Cyzicus when the giants were blocking the Rhyndacus' mouth. Another tradition, however, ascribed the island to the agency of Poseidon.

The island of Cyzicus was reputed her dowry[3] but this honour was claimed by several cities[4], while the rape-legend was located, not to mention Eleusis and Sicily, in many parts of Asia: the only record of this in connection with Cyzicus is Propertius'[5]

"Raptorisque tulit qua via Ditis equos."

One is inclined to associate this with a later version of the Harpagia myth. All known sources, however, connect the locality with the Ganymede legend.

In the later cycle of myth, which gathered round the siege of Mithradates, Kore is characteristically prominent: a black heifer is said to have swum from the mainland through the opposing fleet to be sacrificed at her festival[6] and the goddess appeared in person to Aristagoras and encouraged the citizens with

[1] *Bell. Mith.* LXXV.
[2] Steph. Byz. s.v.
[3] App. *Bell. Mith.* LXXIV.
[4] Marquardt, p. 121.
[5] III. 22; cf. also *Priap.* 76.
[6] Plut. *Lucull.* 10, etc.

promises of aid: the following day the engines of Mithradates were blown down by a supernatural wind attributed to her agency[1].

FIG. 18. COIN OF CYZICUS WITH HEAD OF KORE SOTEIRA.

The only title of Kore known at Cyzicus is that of Soteira, which is excessively frequent on imperial coins[2], and may have had a special reference to the divine interposition during the siege.

Her festivals were called Φερεφαττεῖα[3], Κορεῖα[4], Σωτήρια[5], Ἱερὸν Κόρης Ἰσοπύθιον[6].

The altar of Persephone.

The symbol of the torch, which is closely connected with the mysteries, appears on numerous autonomous coins of Cyzicus, including the pieces struck with the types of Alexander and Lysimachus[7]. On imperial coins the torch is encircled by a serpent, and one of the more remarkable types, certainly as early as Trajan, shews two of these torches flanking a great altar with a door and frieze of bucrania, surmounted by three figures. This altar is also represented on several stelae of Cyzicus found at Samothrace[8]; the Cyzicenes were on very intimate terms with the sanctuary of the Cabiri during the republican period[9], perhaps from its association with Jason. A sketch of the same altar, seen by Cyriac apparently in Samothrace, is published by Rubensohn[10]. At Cyzicus

[1] Plut. *Lucull.* 10.

[2] Cf. also Inscrr. I. 21 (ἱερεὺς τῆς Σ. Κ.), and IV. 65 (ἱερώμενος Κόρης τῆς Σωτείρας).

[3] Plut. *Lucull.* 10. [4] Str. 98. [5] Dittenberger, *Syll.* 791.

[6] Dumont, *Inscrr. de Thrace*, 392.

[7] Müller, p. 223.

[8] *C.I.G.* 2158. *Ath. Mitth.* XVIII. 355 (2), (3).

[9] *C.I.G.* 2157, 2158. *Ath. Mitth.* XVIII. 355 (1), (4), (5).

[10] *Myst. Heiligth.* 166; a strikingly similar altar occurs on a coin of Pergamon, *B.M. Catal.* pl. XXIX. 8 (Faustina II.).

Cyriac copied an inscription of which he gives us the following translation:

"Illustrissimi heroes et optimi Cyzicenorum civitatis cives maximae inferiali et coelesti dearum gloriosae nympharum a Jove productarum Persephonae talem construxerunt aram[1]."

Reinach considers that the inscription is an invention of Cyriac's, based on a misapprehension of the word ἥρως and the occurrence of the name Κόρη in the inscription he copied below[2]. But Cyriac, after describing the inscription as "epigramma ad Proserpinae templum" (i.e. at the temple of Hadrian[3], which perhaps this epigram made him attribute to Persephone[4]) conscientiously inserts *aram* in the inscription copied. Now certain imperial coins[5] shew the altar standing beside the temple of Hadrian. The phraseology of the inscription, "heroes" especially, points to a late date, so the great altar may have been built first in the republican period—the Hellenistic age is remarkable for several such buildings, e.g. at Pergamon and, nearer home, at Parium[6]—and *restored* under the Antonines, very likely in connection with the imperial cult; the last line runs easily: Περσεφόνῃ βωμὸν τοιοῦτον ἐπῳκοδόμησαν. The third referred perhaps to Faustina's descent from the "Olympian Saviour" Hadrian.

The Mysteries.

"The great Mysteries of the Saviour Maid[7]" are evidently, so far as the city of Cyzicus was concerned, *the* mysteries, which were given official recognition and formed an integral part of the state worship.

Strabo tells us that at Miletus the ancient royal race of Athens retained the title of King, certain kingly honours, and the control of the Eleusinian rites[8]. Now "Basileus" and its abbreviations are among the commonest of the titles which occur in the Cyzicene Prytany lists. We find also in inscriptions μυσταρχὴς (II. 3, II. 7: μυσταρχία III. 44), μυστηριαρχὴς (II. 23), ἐξηγητὴς

[1] *B.C.H.* XIV. 541.

[2] This is refuted, and the inscriptions commented on by Keil in *Hermes* XXV. 1890, 505.

[3] Cf. p. 543.

[4] Similarly in his first journey the "aurei fili signa" made him attribute the temple to Jupiter.

[5] Of Gallienus.

[6] Str. 588.

[7] Inscr. l. 24.

[8] 635. Cf. the eponymous Basileis of Samothrace (*C.I.G.* 2151–8), Chalcedon (*C.I.G.* 3794), and Megara (*C.I.G.* 1052).

(*Ath. Mitth.* VI. 42, cf. ἐξηγητὴς τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων τῆς Σωτείρας Κόρης I. 21), ἀφηγούμενος (II. 4, II. 7), ἱερομνημὼν (II. 8, II. 20, *C.I.G.* 2158), as well as μύστης which occurs in nearly every list.

It may well be that the κάλλιον superintended by the Prytaneis in their second month of office was the precinct of the Eleusinian goddesses. In this case the officers would be necessarily Basileis. The hero Basileus slain by Telamon[1] was probably a mythological eponym of the clan. The name occurs also in the list of archontes mentioned on coins.

[1] Ap. Rhod. I. 1043.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MOTHER OF THE GODS.

Mother of the Gods.

UNLIKE the Hellenic Kore, the essentially Phrygian Mother of the Gods was worshipped all over the Cyzicus region under many names, most of which are obviously of local signification. Characteristically she is only once called Cybele[1] in inscriptions: she is usually called by the vague "Mother" (of the Gods) and her local adjective. The general character of her worship is well known: it was considered barbarous by the Greeks, who were in their best times averse to the religious frenzy, self-mutilation and noisy ritual which were inseparable from it[2]. Some idea of the cycle of myth connected with her cult may be gleaned from the wild farrago of obscenity and fetishism, not without a tincture of poetic idea, handed down to us by Pausanias[3]. It was probably a religion for the natives throughout the history of Cyzicus: and the Mother was always a foreigner to the Cyzicenes, though a foreigner that must be conciliated. She had no part in their later heroic period, nor in their imperial cultus.

Dindymene.

The Dindymene mother is the great goddess of the Cyzicene peninsula. The epithet is probably local and derived, as we have said[4], from a double hill on which the first temple was placed.

The establishment of her worship was ascribed to the Argo-

[1] Inscr. III. 38 A. This also may be a local epithet. Cf. Str. 567.

[2] Cf. the story of Anacharsis, Hdt. IV. 56, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 20.

[3] VII. 17, and Frazer's notes. Cf. also Arnob. *Adv. Gent.* V. 5. ff. Sallustius Philosophus, *De Mundo* IV.; Julian, *Hymn. in Mat. Deor.*; Frazer, *Golden Bough* II. 131 sqq. These traditions all refer to the Pessinuntine cult which, lying far inland, was doubtless little affected by Hellenism.

[4] Above, p. 22.

nauts[1], though she is represented as the powerful goddess of the region before this: the legend, of whatever date its origin, is evidence for the extremely early foundation of the cult. From it we gather that the original image was of vinewood[2], that the tympana of Cybele were here first devised[3], and that in the neighbourhood was a sacred grove. In connection with these evidences of tree-worship it is interesting to note the frequent occurrence of a tree resembling a fig-tree on the votive stelae of the district, especially on IV. 3, where a tree with cymbals on it takes the place of the goddess, and the statement in the *Life of S. Philetaerus*[4] that certain cypresses were intimately associated with the pagan worship at Poketos, so late as the third century A.D.

The goddess was worshipped together with two Curetes of superior rank.

> ...Τιτίην θ' ἅμα Κύλληνόν τε
> Οἱ μοῦνοι πολέων μοιρηγέται ἠδὲ πάρεδροι
> Μητέρος Ἰδαίης κεκλήαται ὅσσοι ἔασιν
> Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι...[5]

Titias is represented[6] as a local hero and a son of Zeus; he is probably a Phrygian ancestor-god and a form of Attis, who was regarded later on as a Zeus Hades, and the mate of the Great Mother—the only inscription of Dindymene[7] pairs her with Zeus. Of Cyllenus we know nothing more, but the name connects him with the Arcadian Cyllene and he probably took the form of Hermes Psychopompus or Cadmilus[8].

The feminine element is obviously the most important in the trinity of Dindymon, a relic perhaps of a matriarchal system.

The image attributed to the Argonauts was carried off by

[1] Cf. above and Str. 45, quoting Neanthes: the Argonauts sacrificed to her as Πεισματίη, *Orphica* 423.

[2] In the *Acta SS. Stratonicae et Seleuci* (Asseman I. 97) the image of Berecyntia at Cyzicus is described as "*Caelatum lignum.*"

[3] This must be the explanation of Propertius' incredibly clumsy line (III, 22. 3), "Dindymus et sacrae fabricata inventa Cybellae."

[4] May 19, III. § 28.

[5] Apoll. Rhod. I. 1126. So also at Miletus, Schol. ad loc. and cf. Cybele's connection with the Dioscuri (Cabiri?) in *Ath. Mitth.* XIV. 22, 50.

[6] Schol. loc. cit. and II. 780. [7] IV. 1. [8] Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* XVI. 191.

Constantine to adorn his new capital; he altered its pose to suit his taste to that of a woman praying[1], from which Amelung[2] conjectures with great probability that the image was a standing figure flanked by lions (the "Oriental Artemis" or *πότνια θηρῶν* type), not the usual throned figure[3].

The worship of Dindymene at Proconnesus may have been founded from Cyzicus: if there was not a Dindymon there also, the name is widely spread, and Agathocles[4] mentions a legend that the stone of Rhea came from Proconnesus; popular deities, e.g. Andeiris below, Placiané and Adrasteia, were frequently introduced in this manner. The image, which was of gold and hippopotamus ivory[5], was stolen by the Cyzicenes on their acquisition of the island, so Constantine's plundering comes as poetic justice on the Cyzicenes.

Placiane.

Two interesting inscriptions of the first century B.C.[6] commemorate a "Plician Mother of the Gods" perhaps introduced into Cyzicus after the absorption of the little town of Placia: at any rate we have a clear case of the adoption by the metropolis of a country cult, with which we may compare the centralising of the deme cults in Athens.

The Plician mother was served by "hieropoei called thalassiae," recalling the maritime origin of the deity, and probably connected with the ritual washing of the image[7]: by a second body called *συντελοῦσαι τὸν κόσμον*, probably the makers of

[1] Zosimus II. 31. 2. [2] *Röm. Mitth.* 1899. 8.

[3] Cf. *Rev. Arch.* 1891. 10 (5) (6); *J.H.S.* XXIII. 82 (28). [4] Frag. 7.

[5] Paus. VIII. 46. Marquardt suspects that this had a ritual significance, as the animal is figured also on a coin. (Mionnet, *Supp.* 307.) But this probably refers to the games; such subjects are frequent on Roman coins in connection with the Ludi Saeculares.

[6] I. 8. 9.

[7] Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 1011, note. The juxtaposition of Cybele and the ship's prow on the Van Branteghem fragment shews that Cybele and her assessors were to some extent mariners' gods, like the Samothracians. This function depends of course on the locality of the shrine (cf. Isis Pharia) and was not an essential part of the conception of Cybele. Placiane and Dindymene, the latter especially after her connection with the Argonaut myth, might certainly be credited with it. This aspect of the Dindymene or Samothracian triad may be perpetuated at the monastery of the Trinity on the edge of the sea at Panderma: at Aphisia, too, a procession with censers round the ruins of the church of the Trinity is, or was, supposed to change the wind and bring absent kinsfolk safe home from sea (Gedeon 63).

some ritual robe for the image like the peplus of Athena[1]: and by a third body of priestesses without a special name. The priestess of the Placian mother, whom the inscriptions commemorate, was also chief priestess of Artemis Munychia, and

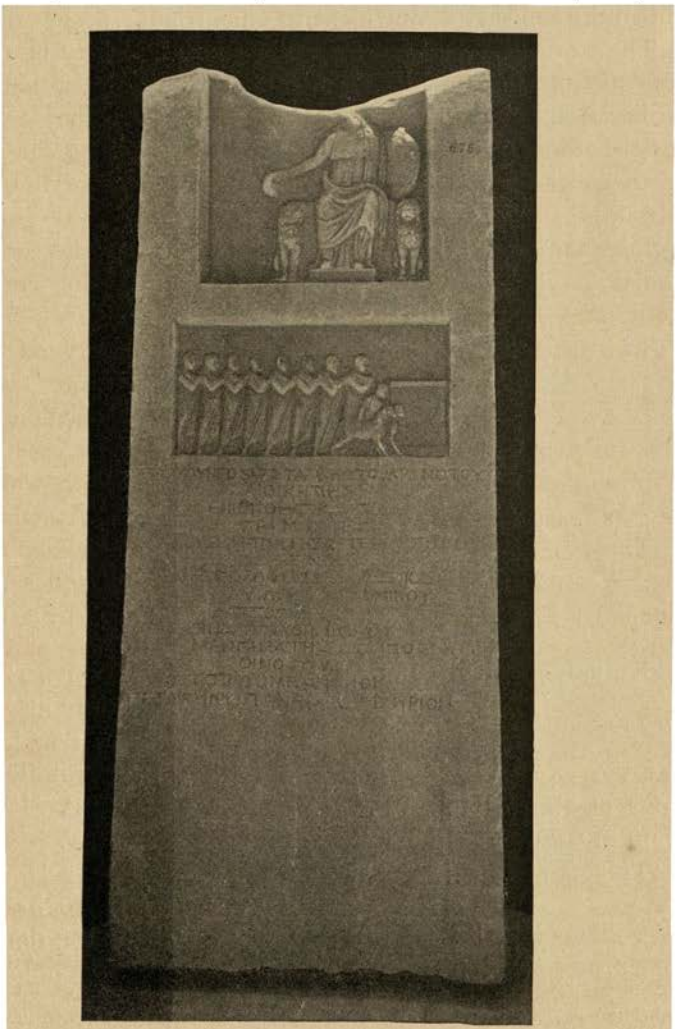

FIG. 19. STELE DEDICATED TO TOLUPIANE (Inscr. IV. 4).

[1] Cf. *C.I.G.* 2869 (Miletus), *C.I.G.* 396 (Athens).

of the Mother and the Maid. The festival apparently fell on the 5th Taureon[1]. The curious incidental mention of the "parthenon" of the Placian Cybele, involving the mystic paradox of the virgin-mother, is not inconsistent with the Asiatic or pre-Greek use of the word *παρθένος* as equivalent to unmarried[2].

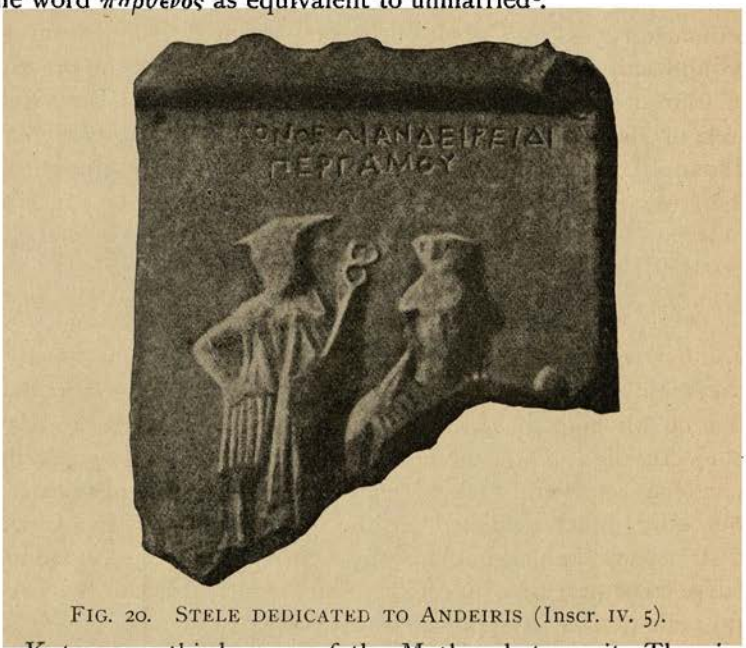

FIG. 20. STELE DEDICATED TO ANDEIRIS (Inscr. IV. 5).

Kotyana.

Kotyana, a third name of the Mother, betrays its Thracian origin. The name occurs in full on one inscription (I. 2), and is perhaps to be restored in IV. 3. Kotys was the name of a Thracian goddess[3], of several Thracian kings, of a hero slain by the Argonauts at Cyzicus[4]. It occurs again in Cotyaeum and Cotyora, a village in Pontus[5].

Tolupiane.

Tolupiane is the title given to the goddess on a large stele from Debleki[6], where there are said to be ruins[7], dedicated apparently by a village corporation. The name is connected with a process used in the preparation

[1] The coincidence of Taureon with the Athenian Munychion suggests that the Placian Mother and Artemis Munychia shared a temple.

[2] Cf. Farnell, *Cults* II. 629.

[3] Str. 470. [4] Val. Flac. 110. [5] Steph. Byz. [6] IV. 4 (Fig. 19).

[7] *Ath. Mitth.* X. 200 (29).

of wool[1], which may have been the chief industry of the village[2].

Andeiris.

Andeiris, on a stele found in Cyzicus itself[3], is a local adjective derived from Andeira in the Troad, where the goddess had a sacred cave. The figure differs from the ordinary types of Cybele, being represented rising from the ground and accompanied by Hermes. This shews the practical relation of Cybele to Demeter. The provenance of the similar stele of *Andirene*[4] is unknown, but it is very probably from the Troad: the epithet is perhaps to be restored in a fragment from the lower Kara-déré[5].

Lobrine.

Lobrine is only known from Nicander's verse[6]

...ἦχί τε Ῥείης
Λοβρίνης θάλαμοι καὶ ὀργαστήριον Ἄττεω.

Kiepert[7] considers that the mountain Lobrinon mentioned by the scholiast can only be that opposite Cyzicus (= Adrasteia), but on his map of Western Asia he gave the name to Klapsi conjecturally. The scholiast seems to me to be no wiser than ourselves as to the topography[8]. The passage is important as our only direct evidence for the cult of Attis in the Cyzicus district[9] with which perhaps the boar-type on the autonomous silver coins may be connected. The favourite form of the youthful male god as we shall see was Apollo.

Domna.

Domna is a name given to Cybele or Kore by Marquardt on the evidence of a coin in Mionnet[10]. But the word is only a misreading for Athena[11].

[1] Cf. Suidas, *Et. Mag.* s.v. Τολύπη.

[2] Cf. Poemaneni and the modern Yappaji Keui, Tchoban Keui, etc., all indicating the occupation of the villagers.

[3] IV. 5. [4] *C.I.G.* 6836.

[5] IV. 6. [6] *Alexiph.* 7. [7] Notes on *Formae Orbis*, IX.

[8] His words are "δύο γὰρ ὄρη εἰσὶν ἐν Κυζίκῳ, Δίνδυμον καὶ Λοβρινόν. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ Λοβρινὰ ὄρη Φρύγιας ἢ τόπος Κυζίκου."

[9] But cf. Attou Kome, Inscr. v. 22, Dionysus *Attoudenos*, IV. 64, and the hill of Atys near Hadrianutherae mentioned by Aristides. [Since the above was written a torso of Attis from Cyzicus has been published in the Brusa Museum Catalogue (Mendel, 8).]

[10] No. 168. [11] Imhoof, *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 244, No. 86.

Adrasteia.

Adrasteia has since Marquardt's time been generally acknowledged[1] as a form of Cybele confused by a false etymology of Greek mythographers with Nemesis "whom none may escape": the two were worshipped together in Cos[2]. We may consequently ignore from the point of view of Cyzicus all passages where Adrasteia is used as a synonym for Nemesis without specific reference to the divinity of the Troad and Mysia.

The name Adrastus was associated with the Homeric city Adrasteia on the Granicus plain; where no doubt Adrasteia and the hero Adrastus[3] were worshipped together like Aeneas and Aphrodite Aeneas: the prominence of the female element denotes an originally matriarchal cult, and is exactly paralleled by the Cybele and Attis legend: their essential identity is shewn by the cult of Mother Adrastos and Attes at Attouda in Phrygia[4].

Adrasteia, then, may be regarded as the home of this particular form of Cybele: there was, however, no shrine there in Strabo's time; one existed, he says, near Cyzicus[5], evidently on the hill overlooking the isthmus and the peninsula which bore the name of the goddess[6]: the existence of this ancient temple was probably seized upon eagerly as a link between Cyzicus and the Homeric cycle, though it may have no connection with the city on the Granicus any more than with Adrastus the Argive. The existence of the temple would be held tangible evidence for the legend that King Cyzicus married a lady of Homeric descent instead of a mere Thessalian.

The Mysian goddess appears in three forms, divine, semi-divine and heroic[7].

[1] Cf. Preller-Plew, *Gr. Myth.* p. 538. Farnell, p. 499, Note 138 A. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Ramsay, *Phryg.* II. 432. The identification was reached (1) by a derivation from α- and διδράσκω, and (2) by connection with the fate of the (Argive) Adrastus (Zenob. I. 30, and Leutsch's note in *Paroem. Gr.* Cf. also Hesych., s.v.). Demetrius of Scepsis' identification of Adrasteia with Artemis only shews the essential identity of the Asiatic Artemis and the Mother.

[2] Paton and Hicks, 137, No. 104. Nemesis was worshipped near Brusa, *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 311.

[3] Hesychius (s.v. Ἀδράστου δρῦς) mentions a place on the Granicus called "the oak of Adrastus."

[4] Ramsay, *Phryg.* 166, 169. [5] Str. 575. [6] Plut. *Lucull.* 9.

[7] Cf. Titias above, who is at once a son of Zeus, Idaean dactyl, and Mariandyne hero.

(1) As a goddess obviously identical with Cybele and associated like her with the Idaean Dactyls[1].

(2) As one of the mountain nymphs who nursed the infant Zeus on Ida[2]. The childhood of Zeus was evidently connected with the πεδίον Νηπηΐου around the Granicus[3] and the sisters of Adrasteia, Helice and Cynosura were said to have been changed into bears on the Arctonnesus[4].

Mention of a society of Bacchi named after Cynosura[5] inclines one to the belief that the latter was also a local goddess, while Helice is connected with Thessaly and with the Arcadian Lycaon[6]. It is quite possible that these two along with Adrasteia fell, after the canonisation of Rhea Cybele by the literary religion, from their position of local Mothers of God to the subordinate category of nurses of Zeus, who need not logically be limited in number.

(3) Adrasteia is reduced a second time to a merely heroic figure—the daughter of Melisseus—parallel with Adrastus himself[7], probably by a Euhemeristic interpretation of the myth assisted by the fact that these primitive Phrygian deities were earth-gods and so not to be sharply distinguished from heroes; indeed a tribal hero and a tribal god are essentially identical.

Demeter.

Of Demeter we find only slight traces at Cyzicus, in spite of the national importance of Kore. The priestess of the Placian Mother was also priestess of the Mother and the Maid, and a sacrifice to Poseidon Asphaleios and Ge Karpophoros is prescribed by the Delphic oracle of *B.C.H.* VI. 454; her head also appears frequently on coins, as does the running figure with torches in either hand: it is obvious that she

[1] Phoronis ap. Sch. Ap. Rh. I. 1126. Aeschylus frag. ap. Str. 580. Cf. also Sch. ad Eur. *Rhesum*, 342.

[2] Diogen. Cyz. ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀδράστεια Apoll. Rhod. III. 133.

[3] Apoll. Rhod. I. 1116.

[4] Sch. Apoll. Rhod. I. 936.

[5] Inscr. IV. 85. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1118.

[6] Lycaon again brings us back to Zeleia: it is profitless to attempt to follow up these hints based on the nomenclature of kindred peoples, and confused by well-meaning literary unification.

[7] Charax, ap. Steph. Byz. Cf. Schol. *Rhes.* 342, where she is connected with Crete, naturally after the localization of the birth of Zeus on the Cretan Ida.

must have been important in the Mysteries, though perhaps beyond this connection her sphere was limited by the power of the aboriginal Mother-goddess, more especially outside the Greek city itself.

Isis, who according to late Greek ideas was only another avatar of Demeter, will be discussed in connection with Serapis.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ZEUS AND ASKLEPIOS.

ZEUS is known to us at Cyzicus as Soter (on coins)[1], an epithet of such extremely wide application that we cannot decide as to the aspect considered, and Ἄγιος[2], of which we have no particulars, though we may conjecture with much probability that it referred to an Avenger of Blood.

Zeus Soter.

The Zeus of the villages was a deity with close affinities to the Phrygian—a chthonian type with an elemental side, and probably, like most rural deities, a "god of all work" invoked under various epithets in various circumstances. Most characteristic is the epithet Hypsistos[3], which, so far from having any Olympian connection, designates a (chthonian) healing god as the reliefs from the Pnyx[4], Cyprus[5] and elsewhere shew. This god was variously identified with Zeus or the Sun[6], and sometimes left quite vague (θεὸς ὕψιστος)[7], from which we may conclude that Hypsistos is a dim and early conception later identified with Zeus, but capable also of being identified through its solar aspect with Apollo, and through its healing side with Asklepios. The identification would depend probably on whether the elemental (Zeus), prophetic (Apollo) or healing (Asklepios) side was most strongly pronounced; also upon the period when the god was Hellenised, and possibly on the existing type of cultus-image.

This god is commonly represented standing, with a mantle

[1] Mionnet, *Supp.* 115. The type is the usual one of the district. (See below.) Cf. Inscr. IV. 26. An altar of Zeus Soter has been found at Ilidja, IV. 25.

[2] Bekker, *Anecd.* I. 338.

[3] Inscr. IV. 13, 11, 15.

[4] *C.I.G.* 497–506.

[5] *B.C.H.* XX. 362.

[6] Fraenckel, *Inschrr. v. Pergamon*, II. 330.

[7] IV. 14, 16 (*Apollonia*).

wrapped about his middle, holding the hasta pura in his left hand and extending the patera with his right: he is often associated with a tree, in the branches of which, or on the ground, an eagle sits. The central object on most votive reliefs is an altar, on the right side of which stands the god, while from the left his worshippers approach with sacrifice.

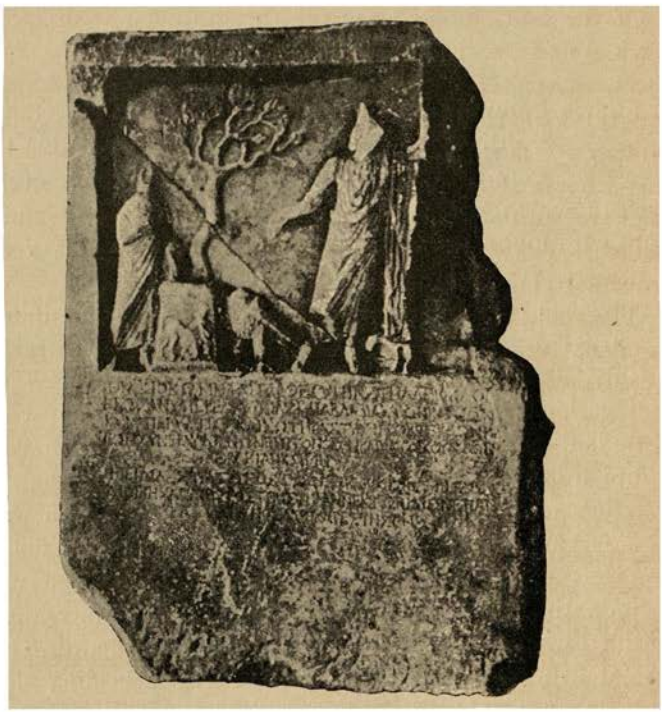

FIG. 21. STELE DEDICATED TO ZEUS CHALAZIOS (Inscr. IV. 23).

Of this type of relief we have examples:

(1) From Sari Keui (Zeleia). IV. 27.
(2) From Panderma. IV. 27.
(3) From "Nicaea." III. 20 A.
(4) From Triglia. III. 36.
(5) From Thrakia Kome. IV. 23 (Fig. 21).
(6) At Hodja Bunar. IV. 28.
(7) At Harakhi. (*J. H. S.* XXIV. 29.)

(8) At Kazak Keui (figured in *J. H. S.* XXIV. 22).
(9) At Kermasti. III. 26.
(10) At Hissar Alan. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 300.
(11) From near Gunen (IV. 21? Z. Olbios?). Coins of Cyzicus (Zeus Soter) and Hadrianutherae (*Num. Chron.* 1895, p. 98, 17) reproduce the type[1].

Of these (5) alone preserves the epithet (Χαλάζιος Σώζων) shewing that on the occasion of this dedication, the elemental aspect, as sender of, or protector from, hail[2], was uppermost, though IV. 9 (Mihallitch) shews by its double epithet "Hypsistos Brontaios[3]" that this need not debar us from considering the Zeus Chalazios also a Zeus Hypsistos. We have nothing by which to estimate the character of Zeus Olbios (presumably similar to Plousios)[4], the Zeus Crampsenus of Balia[5] or the Zeus Orneus of Halone[6].

The same type of Zeus is shewn also on the Van Branteghem fragment[7], and the Panderma trinity stele[8] where he is definitely Hypsistos. We have thus the following trinities:

(Dindymon) Titias, Cyllenus, Cybele[9].
(Van Branteghem) Zeus, Hermes, Cybele.
(Panderma) Zeus, Apollo, Hekate-Artemis.
("Nicaea") Zeus, Apollo, Cybele[10],

and possibly

(Zeleia) Zeus (cf. above), Apollo, Artemis.

All of these are composed of two male and one female deity, as is the Phrygian trinity of Zeus, Apollo, and Hecate[11]. I believe

[1] This is very possibly the ancient god of Aristides' neighbourhood. The title of Olympius, with the accompanying seated cultus-image, need not be earlier than Hadrian's foundation. Here alone, in Aristides' dedication (Inscr. IV. 31) do we find a trace of Hera.

[2] For hail-charms see Frazer's notes on Paus. II. 15, II. 34.

[3] Two types of Thunder Zeus occur on Imperial coins. *B.M. Catal.* 180, 181.

[4] IV. 17–20. [5] IV. 8, 9. [6] IV. 24.

[7] *Ath. Mitth.* XVI. 191. [8] IV. 13. [9] Apoll. Rhod. I. 1126.

[10] The two "Nicaean" stelae are obviously from one shrine.

[11] Ramsay, *Phrygia*, II. 566 (468), though Ramsay conjectures the Mother-daughter-and-son conjunction for the τρίττευμα mentioned I. 357 (171). Cf. also the coin of Germe with *Asklepios*, Apollo, Artemis-Hecate (B.M. 32 = Mionn. 278, *Supp.* 527), and Paean, Mên and Hecate at Assarlar (*J.H.S.* XVII. 282 (48)), all of which go to prove that the usual trinity was of two males and one female divinity.

that the prominence of the Mother-and-daughter conception was Eleusinian merely. The relationship does not occur among the pairs we have found about Cyzicus, which are:

Zeus and Cybele. IV. 1.
Hermes and Cybele (Andiris). IV. 5.
Apollo and Cybele. III. 38 A, IV. 70.
Attis and Lobrine,
(besides Apollo and Artemis)

which are composed of one male and one female; and

Asklepios and Apollo. I. 10,

(perhaps formerly Zeus Hypsistos and Apollo,)

Zeus and Apollo[1]. (Pliny, XXXVI. 22.)
Apollo and Hermes. IV. 74.
Zeus Soter and Heracles. IV. 26.

with which we may compare the usual conception of the Cabiri as Hades and Dionysus: here we are justified in supposing a female element, just as at Eleusis, where Demeter and Kore are supreme, the male element is indispensable for the divine reproduction which is an essential part of these cults.

Asklepios.

Of Asklepios we have only one late stele from Cyzicus[2], but we may date his advent during the Pergamene period. The transition from the θεὸς ὕψιστος is slight, and we have suggested that the great temple of Asklepios at Poemanenum was originally a healing shrine of Zeus and Apollo.

Asklepios figures frequently on the imperial coins not only of Cyzicus, but of Apollonia, Hadrianutherae, and Poemanenum, and we have record of games called Μεγάλα Ἀσκληπιεῖα in Inscr. III. 40. Remains of a temple, among which a base of a Telesphorus statue was found, vouch for Asklepios' presence at Balia-Bazar[3].

[1] For this combination of the Branchidae shrine (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Didyma*), where the feminine element is supplied by Artemis with very developed healing powers; but *C.I.G.* 2864, calls the trinity Apollo, Asklepios, and Hygieia. The autonomous coins of Apollonia ad Rh. exhibit heads of a similar trinity: (1) Zeus, (2) Apollo, (3) Artemis.

[2] IV. 32.

[3] *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 273.

Serapis and Isis.

Serapis and Isis, the Egyptian gods of death and the underworld, are eminently adapted for equation with the native gods we have just noticed: indeed Serapis was himself originally of Northern Asiatic descent[1], though coloured by his residence in Egypt.

In a port like Cyzicus foreign cults would naturally gain a footing early[2]. A terra-cotta plaque of Isis in snake form riding on the waves has been published by Dr Mordtmann[3]. We find also two dedications[4] to the divine pair, dating from the second or first century B.C., erected by bodies of Therapeutae: such lay organizations, characteristic of the date, are indispensable in mystic cults where much depends on instruction in ritual and sacred lore, and we have frequent mention of societies owning a spiritual head in the other country cults of the district: all the names on the Serapis stelae, including those of the instructors, are pure Greek.

Another interesting monument of the cult is the hymn to Serapis and Isis discovered on the site of Cyzicus by Carabella[5]; it is written in a lyrical metre, and in excessively crabbed Greek though neither illiterate nor of late date, and finds an exact parallel in the contemporary hymn from Cius[6].

Relics of the cult are also to be found in a grave-stone from Besbicus[7], with relief of the two Egyptian death divinities, and in a second dedication to Isis, in her agricultural faculty as Karpophoros[8], found so far inland as Hammamli-by-Manyas[9]; this shews that the cult penetrated naturally to the village communities, probably mingling with the crude and amorphous religion of the rustic population[10].

[1] Tac. *Hist.* IV. 84.

[2] Zeus Ammon appears on two staters (Greenwell 3, 4: cf. Inscr. I. 24), perhaps in compliment to Cyrene.

[3] *Rev. Arch.* 1879, 257.

[4] IV. 34, 35. Cf. IV. 37, a small dedication to Isis.

[5] IV. 36. [6] *C.I.G.* 3724. [7] V. 214. [8] IV. 38.

[9] In 1904 I procured in Panderma a bronze statuette of Osiris said to come from Manyas; it is of Ptolemaic date, and not remarkable except for its provenance.

[10] Other relics of the cult in Northern Asia Minor, especially numismatic, are collected by Drexler in *Num. Zeitschr.* 1889, p. 48 ff.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

APOLLO AND ARTEMIS.

Apollo and Artemis.

APOLLO, as we should expect in an Ionian colony, especially of Miletus, makes his appearance early in the history of Cyzicus. He is represented, we have seen, as the grandfather or even the father of the eponymous hero, and was probably worshipped in this connection as Patroüs: of this cult we have but a hint in the funeral oration of Aristides over Eteoneus[1], when Apollo Patroüs is associated with King Cyzicus as one of the protecting daemons of the state.

The Argonauts, again, sacrifice at Cyzicus to Apollo[2] Ἐκβάσιος, on which the Scholiast comments as follows: "Deilochus says the shrine was not of Apollo Ekbasios but Apollo Iasonius; Socrates...says it was called after Apollo Cyzicenus." The three accounts do not of course contradict one another, the two being merely refinements on the fairly common epithet Ekbasios. One can well imagine a cult patronized by sailors to which a mythological origin was later assigned. The above is, however, not strong evidence for a pre-Milesian shrine of Apollo in Cyzicus, and it seems probable that the earliest seat of Apollo in the Cyzicus district was not in the city itself but at Zeleia, which was for a great part of its history within the Cyzicene territory.

Archegetes.

Of the other titles of Apollo at Cyzicus, Aristides[3] lays quite unnecessary stress on that of ἀρχηγέτης which was by no means so unique as he appeared to suppose. Marquardt takes this merely as equal to οἰκιστής, referring to the Didymean Apollo of Miletus who had sanctioned the colony. We know indeed from various inscriptions that the connection between Cyzicus and the Milesian shrine lasted down into Roman times[4]. But the other Asiatic examples of ἀρχηγέτης

[1] I. 131, Dind.
[2] Apoll. Rhod. I. 960. Cf. *ib.* 1186.
[3] Or. ad Cyz. I. 383, Dind.
[4] *C.I.G.* 2855, 2858. Inscr. I. 2 (*b*).

do not bear out this interpretation: at Hierapolis for instance the Apollo Lairbenos had apparently nothing to do with a colony, and it is not in this sense that Sipylene is called ἀρχηγέτις in *C.I.G.* 3387. The word is probably an expression of the ultimate fatherhood of the Phrygian ancestor-god. It is given to the Venus Genetrix claimed by the Julii as the foundress of their clan, and is thus an equivalent of Patroüs; it belongs to the characteristic class of divine names which stand between the name proper and the epithet. It was this reticence as to the real name of the god which rendered the Anatolian deities peculiarly liable to a nominal Hellenism.

FIG. 22. RELIEF OF APOLLO AS CITHAROEDUS (AIDINJIK).

We have already spoken at some length in Part I. of the Zeleian Apollo, giving some reason for supposing that his shrine

was actually at the hot springs of Gunen; this would account for his healing side; the scholiast on *Iliad* V. 103 attributes three other functions to the god—prophetic power, which is his most prominent attribute, and skill in archery—as patron of archers he gives the bow to Pandarus—and in music. His musical side is accentuated by the fact that all the monuments from the Cyzicene district represent him in the robes of the "citharoedus," except, curiously enough, a fragment of a stele built into the church at Sari Keui itself where he is shewn naked.

A particularly beautiful tetradrachm of Cyzicus[1] shews him with the lyre and omphalos, and a long series of autonomous copper adopt the tripod type. A prophecy given to Olympias "in Cyzicus[2]" appears to prove that he had an oracular shrine there[3]: but it is at least possible that the reference is to the Zeleia —Gunen oracle. It is rather the rule than the exception to find the most important shrines outside cities, and an oracle especially depends on physical conditions.

In the villages of the district Apollo was especially popular[4], and a fair number of votive stelae have come down to us.

Krateanos.

The commonest of his epithets is Krateanos, a name with Bithynian affinities[5], which occurs on a number of stelae from two distinct localities[6]. One series comes from a spot three hours from Manyas and nine from Balukiser[7], and the other from a hill above Artaki[8]: most of this latter find, Dr Mordtmann tells me, are now in the Imperial Museum. The two stelae at Bebek may probably be attributed to one series or the other; one of them (IV. 50) has the epithet Krateanos, the

[1] *Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. XXIX. 27. We may here notice that an Apollo of the late Smintheus type (cf. Collignon *Sculpture* II. 245) occurs on coins of Cyzicus (B.M. 239), and Apollonia (B.M. 27), in the time of Commodus. He may have been introduced to meet a special need, possibly during a plague of mice (cf. Frazer's note on Paus. X. 12).

[2] *Anth. Pal.* XIV. 114.

[3] Pythian games are commemorated on Cyzicene coins (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XV. 12).

[4] Str. 551.

[5] Cf. Krateia in Bithynia, *Arch. Zeit.* 18, 76, 113.

[6] M. Michon has lately republished all the known stelae of Apollo Krateanos.

[7] IV. 41–48, of which 47–8 are attributed by the Louvre authorities to the "environs de Poemanenus"; as coming from M. Dorigny this evidently means Eski Manyas.

[8] *Syllogos*, VII. p. 164.

FIG. 23. STELE DEDICATED TO APOLLO KRATEANOS (Inscr. IV. 43).

other (IV. 51) Mecastenus, which suggests at once the Macestus valley[1].

Apollo Tadocomeites (perhaps "of the village of Tatas") is known only from one stele[2], the exact provenance of which seems to be unknown.

All these, as we have said, represent Apollo as Citharoedus with lyre and patera, generally receiving a sacrifice from more or less numerous worshippers. A tree is very frequently placed behind the altar; and a second relief referring to the religious banquet is characteristic (IV. 50, 57).

Apollo is associated with Artemis in IV. 56 A, 57, 59, with Cybele on the relief of the Poseidon and Aphrodite stele[3], as also on one of the "Nicaean" votives[4]: and once with Artemis-Hekate and Zeus Hypsistos[5].

Kaseos.

The stele of the cataphracti from Ulubad[6] I attribute to Apollo rather than Poseidon (*-ωνι* alone is left of the god's name) in spite of the subject, since I believe it to be a village dedication. The contingent is too small to be that of Cyzicus, and the epithet suggests Phrygian affinities (the name "Kasios" is very frequent in Sterrett's inscriptions)[7] which are more suitable for an indigenous god.

The solar side of the conception is represented by a dedication to Helios[8] and a relief of a radiated bust[9].

Artemis Thermaea.

We have spoken of Artemis Thermaea[10] at Zeleia, and mentioned her name as associated with Apollo's on several stelae. Few other epithets of the goddess are known.

Munychia.

In Cyzicus she was Munychia, a title probably derived through Miletus from Athens, though a sanctuary of hers at Pygela was reputed a foundation of Agamemnon[11]. The type inclined, as appears from such scant

[1] I have it on the authority of Mr Bunning of Susurlu, that many of the Branteghem antiquities were discovered near Omar Keui. This neighbourhood may be the provenance of the first series of Krateanos stelae.

[2] IV. 52. [3] IV. 70. [4] III. 38 A. [5] IV. 13. [6] IV. 40.

[7] Cf. *Papers Amer. Sch.* II. Nos. 40 B, 43, 50 D, 59, etc. [8] IV. 55. [9] IV. 56.

[10] The goddess was Thermia in Lesbos, *B.C.H.* IV. 430, 14–16. Cf. also the *A. Sebaste Baiiane* of Boyuk Tepe Keui, IV. 60, and the Μήτηρ Θερμηνὴ near Eski Shehr, *Ath. Mitth.* XXVII. 271, I. 8, 9.

[11] Str. 639.

notices of Munychia as have come down to us[1], to that of Hekate, which, it will be shewn, may be regarded as the normal type of Artemis outside Cyzicus.

Pediane.

Artemis Pediane (a local epithet) is shewn in a short chiton with the torch, on a stele from Peramo[2]. Another stele from Sari Keui shews her in a long robe enthroned with a dog at her side[3], receiving her worshippers at an altar with tree behind. A relief of a similar figure, standing with the torch, I saw at Harakhi, whence comes also an inscription to the "light-bearing goddess[4]." Perrot and Guillaume publish a relief of Hekate Artemis[5] from Ermeni Keui and a small and much mutilated triple Hekate was brought to De Rustafjaell in 1901.

The mention of a thiasus of Artemis[6] called Δόλων shews again her inclination to the orgiastic side. Its name may have been connected with a ritual similar to that of the Panathenaic ship at Athens: from which we should suppose a seamen's cultus of Artemis as λιμενοσκόπος or possibly Munychia. Her worship is prominent, too, in the description of S. Philetaerus' journey[7], much more so, indeed, than that of Apollo: this predominance of the female element in late classical times which we have remarked elsewhere, is possibly due to a recrudescence of the aboriginal and matriarchal element in the population.

The typical Artemis of the Cyzicus district is to be regarded as a goddess of distinctly chthonian attributes, with healing powers (cf. the goddess of the springs and IV. 63) as at Miletus[8], and closely allied to, if not identical with, the mother goddesses.

The Artemis of Ephesus occurs as a coin type, possibly as a compliment to that city, under Antonius, Lucius Verus, and Commodus[9].

Dionysus.

Dionysus, of whom we should expect frequent mention at Cyzicus as a chthonic and orgiastic god closely allied to the Thraco-Phrygian cycle, occurs curiously seldom both in the authorities and the monuments. Apart from

[1] Farnell II. 564, note 30. [2] IV. 59. [3] IV. 62. [4] IV. 61.

[5] *Galatie* II. pl. 4, Inscr. IV. 58, is from the same village, but as the inhabitants till part of the site of Cyzicus, it is not necessary to suppose a village shrine.

[6] Suidas s.v. Δόλων. [7] *Acta SS.* May 19. [8] Cf. Strabo, 635.

[9] Mionn. (1) *Supp.* 229, (2) 203 and *Supp.* 302, (3) *Supp.* 303. Cf. also *C.I.G.* 5944.

the Aura myth, which is purely literary[1], we have casual mention of a tauromorphic Dionysus[2] (evidently connected with the *καθηγεμὼν* of Pergamon[3] and the *βουκόλοι*), a dedication without epithet by a priest of Kore[4], which suggests a chthonian god connected with the mysteries, and a reference to a thiasus called *πρῶτοι Βάκχοι Κυνοσουρεῖται*[5].

A bare hint of a Dionysus in the marshes occurs in the sepulchral inscription of Dionysodorus, who is described as *λιμναγένης γεγονώς*.

The month-names Lenaeon, Anthesterion, also recall the Athenian cult of Dionysus: and the festival Anthesteria (Dionysia)[6] was evidently connected as at Athens with dramatic contests.

A village *ex-voto* from Yali Chiftik gives Dionysus the titles of *θεὸς ἐπήκοος* and *Κεβρήνιος*[7] (?) and another from Mihallitch[8] dedicated to Dionysus Attoudenus (?) seems to connect him with the Phrygian Attis-cult and the Great Mother; it is probably with a Dionysus-Attis that we must connect certain coin-types of the Antonine period[9] representing a young male figure dressed in a spangled oriental costume reclining with the left arm on a cista, extending a patera with his right, and approached by a figure playing the lyre. In the exergue are a bull and an altar recalling the votive stelae with a double register of reliefs[10].

[1] It is given greater importance than it deserves in *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1883, 277.

[2] Athen. XI. 476 A. Cf. Hesych. s.v. *Ταυροβόλια· ἑορτὴ ἐν Κυζίκῳ*, and the month *Ταυρεών*.

[3] See Fraenckel, II. 317–320. [4] IV. 65.

[5] IV. 85. Cf. also *Βρομίου μύστης* in V. 15.

[6] I. 5. [7] IV. 64 f. [8] IV. 64. [9] B.M. 175, 236.

[10] An almost exactly similar type occurs at Thyateira (B.M. 23, pl. VII. 2) where the vase shews that a river god is intended. There was evidently a close relation between Attis and the river gods; he is the grandson of Sangarius, and closely connected, or even identical, with the river Gallus (cf. Julian, *Or. in Mat. Deor.*); his priests took the name of Gallus or of Attis (cf. Mordtmann's inscr. in *Sitz. Bayer. Acad.* 1860). We have hinted at a similar relation between Miletus and Meles. The star-spangled dress of the Attis on the coin may be connected with his physical aspect and the "hat of stars" given him by Cybele in the Pessinuntine legend (Julian, *Or. in Mat. Deor.*; Sallustius, *Περὶ θεῶν* IV.).

CHAPTER XXIX.

OTHER GODS AND HEROES.

Poseidon.

POSEIDON, though the reputed ancestor of the Doliones[1], can hardly in fact be an earlier immigrant than the Milesian colony. As an Ionian god—his sanctuary at Miletus was the centre of the Ionian decapolis—a god of seafarers and a god of earthquakes, his position at Cyzicus was assured, though he is essentially a god of the town introduced at a comparatively late date into the villages[2].

He is appropriately designated Isthmius[3], with which epithet we may perhaps associate the coin type resembling the Lysippean statue at Corinth, and Asphaleius as protector of the port[4]. The same epithet seems to be given him as god of earthquakes in the Delphian inscription[5] where his connection with Ge Karpophoros seems designed to protect the welfare of the country side negatively by avoiding earthquakes, and positively by securing good crops: though the pair reminds us of the old Arcadian cults, we must remember that the formula is prescribed by Delphi and probably to meet the needs of a definite time.

In a dedication by a company of merchant-adventurers or a fishers' guild, he is paired as often with Aphrodite[6] in her aspect of Euploia. The *ex-voto* of the marines[7], dedicated to a god with the epithet "Kaseos" (in spite of its distinctly naval character) I prefer to attribute to Apollo.

Of other monuments we have a dedication from "near Miletupolis," i.e. Hajji Pavon[8], and a statue classed as a youth-

[1] Ap. Rh. I. 952. [2] Cf. IV. 67, where a special reason is evident.
[3] IV. 69. [4] IV. 68. [5] *B.C.H.* VI. 454.
[6] IV. 70, cf. Farnell, p. 749, note 106, especially Q. (Panticapaeum).
[7] IV. 40. [8] IV. 67.

ful Poseidon is to be found in the British Museum; Cyriac[1] mentions a "magnum terram quatientis Neptuni simulacrum" which he saw at Cyzicus in 1431, and Georgius Cyzicenus[2] a relief of Poseidon with the trident in the Armenian church at Artaki.

Athena.

Athena laid claim to an ancient establishment in Cyzicus, which boasted to be the oldest in Asia[3], and Apollonius (I. 955) says that the anchorstone of the Argonauts was dedicated by the Milesian colonists[4] in the temple of Jasonian Athena.

The cult received new impetus from Pergamon—we hear of Athena Polias Nikephoros and Panathenaea in an early imperial inscription[5], and the Pergamene type occurs on imperial coins[6], as does the title of Soteira[7] which the goddess may have earned for her defence of Cyzicus in the Mithradatic war[8].

Aphrodite.

Aphrodite was worshipped as a maritime goddess (Pontia) with Poseidon, and apparently as Artacia or Artacene[9] at Artace. A fine stater-type[10] is evidently copied from a statue of Aphrodite and Eros. Drusilla, and possibly before her Apollonis, were identified with the goddess.

Hermes.

Hermes is known from the monuments only as Ἐλεωπώλης[11] (probably a guild god) and Σακκοφόρος[12] (not on a cultus monument) in reference to the purse which is his regular attribute in Roman times. There are only two votive inscriptions of Hermes, one from Bigaditch, where he is connected with Apollo[13], and another of simple type from Pasha Liman[14].

We have noticed him in his chthonic form as an attendant daemon of Andirene[15] and of Dindymene and Zeus in the Van

[1] *B.C.H.* XIV. 542.

[2] p. 84, *εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀρμενῶν ἐκκλησίαν ἴδον ἕνα Ποσειδῶνα μετρίου ἀναστήματος, ἔκτυπον καὶ βαστάζοντα τὴν τρίαιναν.*

[3] *Anth. Pal.* VI. 343.

[4] The Orphica (536) attributes the dedication to the Argonauts themselves—Apollonius is obviously to be followed.

[5] Inscr. I. 12.

[6] e.g. B.M. 262, 263.

[7] Imhoof, *Gr. M.* 614 (168); this is the coin on which Mionnet read ΔΟΜΝΑ for ΑΘΗΝΑ.

[8] Plut. *Lucull.* 10.

[9] Steph. Byz. s.v.

[10] Greenwell 34.

[11] IV. 75.

[12] VI. 37.

[13] VI. 74.

[14] IV. 73.

[15] IV. 4.

Branteghem fragment, perhaps also in the form Cyllenus in Apollonius Rhodius. Dedications to Hermes are rare, but the caduceus is an extremely frequent symbol on the coins of both Cyzicus and Miletupolis; from the latter too comes a bearded herm of imperial date and archaising style dedicated by the town-clerk to the people[1].

Pan.

Pan, according to one restoration of a fragmentary inscription[2], was honoured with a statue in the harbour in return for an abundant provision of game and fish attributed to his agency. The inscription dates from the early

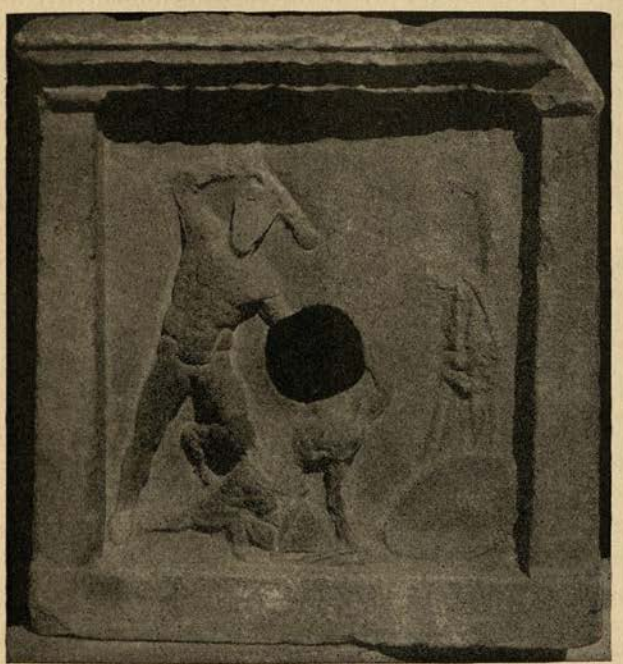

FIG. 24. RELIEF DEDICATED TO HERACLES (Inscr. IV. 76).

fourth century[3] and is couched in the formal terms of a proxeny decree; as the only record of Pan at Cyzicus it is unsatisfactory, for Perdrizet[4] conjectures with the greatest probability that the

[1] Mendel, No. 2. [2] I. 4. [3] Swoboda, *Volksbeschlüsse*, 110.
[4] *Num. Chron.* 1899, 1.

inscription is a proxeny decree of an Antandrian, whose town arms, the goat walking, appear at its head. The stone has however disappeared.

Heracles.

Heracles figures, as we have seen, in the Argonaut myth; he is the subject of a sixth century relief[1] and apparently of a series of famous works in the round (signa) alluded to by Propertius[2], and perhaps representing the Twelve Labours.

The only monuments of his cult are (*a*) the votive relief of the third century B.C.[3] dedicated by the strategi and phylarchs perhaps after the Gallic invasion, (*b*) a much-damaged relief at Kulafly of Heracles reclining, and (*c*) a dedication to Heracles and Zeus Soter from Omar Keui[4].

On coins of Domitian, resting on the authority of Sestini and Vaillant[5], he (or Domitian?) is called the founder of the city. Cyzicene medallions of Commodus frequently bear the title of the Roman Heracles, and the emperor was evidently worshipped under this style.

Castor and Pollux.

Castor and Pollux are known at Cyzicus only from certain coins in Mionnet[6], on which they are represented as horsemen, and a curious terra-cotta[7]. They certainly had a heroic cult in Cyzicus on account of their connection with the Argonaut legend, and their general marine functions: they were perhaps associated here as elsewhere with the Cabiri.

Tyche.

The city goddess (Tyche) of Cyzicus is frequently represented on coins, and resembles her prototype of Antioch in pose[8]. The Tychaeum is mentioned in the life of Philetaerus[9], and formal dedications to the Πατρίς, especially agonistic, are fairly frequent. An inscription on the architrave of the Tychaeum of Miletupolis has also come down to us[10].

[1] *B.S.A.* VIII. 190, pl. IV. [2] III. 22, 7 ff.
[3] IV. 76. [4] IV. 26.
[5] Mionn. 163, *Supp.* 213.
[6] *Supp.* 281, 347, 349 (?).
[7] *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, CXCIX. See further *Ath. Mitth.* 1885, 81.
[8] The personification of the "Cleite" stream is plainly shewn at her feet on B.M. 222, corresponding to the figure of Orontas in the Antiochene statue.
[9] *Acta SS.* May 19. [10] VI. 23 f.

Homonoia.

Homonoia is a personification connected especially with the "Alliance" coins or medallions of the Antonine period: Cyzicus formed these alliances with Ephesus (under Antoninus)[1], Smyrna (under Commodus)[2] and Nicaea (under Septimius Severus)[3]. A statue of her was set up probably on one of these occasions by one Flavius Aristagoras[4].

River-Gods.

Aristides relates that he composed hymns to Aesepus, evidently regarding him as a healer[5], on his way to the springs, and a conventional river-god type represents him on the imperial coinage[6]: a dedication to the river Enbeilus was copied by Pococke at Panderma[7], which is evidently, like the following inscription[8], originally from the Kara-déré. Rhyndacus was probably worshipped at Apollonia in the same way.

Heroes: Cyzicus.

Of the heroes worshipped at Cyzicus we have already mentioned the eponymous founder in the Argonaut myth. In the Antonine period he was much in evidence, appearing frequently on coins, where his head, down to Gallienus, often takes the place of that of the emperor. Several heads also on the electrum staters[9] bear a strong resemblance to the later ideal portraits. A statue of him was set up in the theatre by the archon Julius Seleucus[10], possibly in the reign of Hadrian, and after this date a nude full-length figure of the young hero is a frequent reverse type: he stands with the right foot slightly forward, holding a spear upright in his right hand, and a chlamys on his bent left arm: the pose reminds one of the figure of Themistocles on the fourth-century coins of Magnesia: this figure occurs apparently for the first time under Domitian[11], before which date such reverse types are not to be expected.

[1] B.M. 290, 291. [2] B.M. 294.

[3] Mionn. *Supp.* 604, quoting Vaillant. [4] IV. 84.

[5] I. 570 Dind. Cf. *C.I.G.* 3165, hymn to Meles ...*τὸν σωτῆρά μου παντός με λοιμοῦ καὶ νόσου πεπαυμένον.*

[6] B.M. 247, Mionn. 102, *Supp.* 191, 278.

[7] IV. 77. [8] IV. 78.

[9] Greenwell 79, 80, and most of all 82. [10] VI. 17.

[11] Mionn. 208, and *Supp.* 162, he represents the city on alliance medallions: a seated figure occurs under Antoninus, *Supp.* 232. The head, generally of a conven-

Cleite was also, apparently, worshipped in Greek times[1], as were the slain Pelasgians, Artakeus of Artace, Zeleus of Zeleia, Basileus, eponym of the Basileis, Gephyrus, perhaps the patron of the suburb at the bridge end, Promeus, Hyacinthus, Megalosakes, Phlogius and Itymoneus[2].

We have already spoken of Poemes of Poemanenum and Miletus of Miletupolis who belong to the same order.

Philetaerus, Lucullus, Agrippa[3] and Antinous were also probably worshipped with heroic honours, the latter perhaps taking his place among the imperial family.

The title of *heros* is frequently given to hipparchs[4] and other officials[5]—once even to a lady in an honorary inscription[6]. Are we to consider it as an epithet of the apotheosised dead[7]—it occurs several times in sepulchral inscriptions[8]—or merely a title of honour? If the hipparch Eteoneus and the Eteoneus of Aristides[9] are one, the former would seem to be the case, for Aristides lays stress on the fact that his Eteoneus of Cyzicus died young, and no mention is made of his having held office; his apotheosis is taken quite literally by the orator who refers to him as Κυζίκου πάρεδρος, and we should naturally suppose that the hipparchate was a posthumous honour which he shared with the god Poseidon and the New Sun Caligula. On the other hand Chaereas, who enjoyed at least eleven hipparchates, was certainly a "hero" as early as his sixth: six posthumous magistracies seem rather excessive even for Roman Asia.

tional youthful athletic type, occasionally bears a marked resemblance to the coarser portraits of Alexander.

[1] Ap. Rh. I. 1075.

[2] Ap. Rh. I. 1040 sqq. The scholiast objects to Telecles and Megabrontes as "inventions," i.e. not in Apollonius' sources.

[3] I. 14. [4] See list. [5] e.g. the strategus Euneos III. 26.

[6] III. 20. [7] As Ramsay, *Phryg.* I. 2, 384.

[8] V. 26 A, 184, 256, 269, 204 (ἥρῳ φιλόπατρι); in V. 60 a tomb is described as ἡρῷον.

[9] I. 131, Dind. but the name occurs also (T. Ael. Eteoneus) on a coin (B.M. 231).

CHAPTER XXX.

FUNERAL MONUMENTS[1].

FROM the city-heroes we turn very naturally to the sepulchral monuments. These range from the sixth century B.C. down to very late Byzantine times and shew little affinity with the Phrygian: the characteristic designation of the monument as *θύρα* does not occur in the Cyzicus neighbourhood, and though the *cippus* form is not uncommon, it is only thrice referred to as *βωμὸς*, three examples[2] being from the Bigha district and the other the tomb of a foreigner[3]. The altar form of monument is usual in the districts of Kebsud and Balukiser, the analogous *cippus* form being distributed over a wider area.

The earlier funeral monuments are for the most part stelae with reliefs of scenes from the life of the deceased, and the "funeral-banquet" type is common till style and orthography are alike extinct. This class of monument bears seldom more inscription than the name and patronymic[4] of the deceased, followed by *χαῖρε* or the usual short salutations to the passer-by, thrown into a rough metrical form[5]. A fair number of monuments add a short metrical inscription of a more personal character.

[1] See § v. of the Catalogue of Inscriptions.

[2] v. 74, 100, 78. [3] v. 221.

[4] Occasionally also *ἥρως*, and in 151 *καμολη*, which I take to be an illiterate rendering of the Homeric *κάμμορε* (cf. Ramsay, *Phryg.* Inscr. 187, *πρόμοιρος*; *καταθύμιος*, an epithet of somewhat similar type, occurs twice, 242); both inscriptions are probably from Miletupolis. For the diction cf. the purely Homeric *ἐνατὴρ*, which occurs twice further south, *J.H.S.* XVII. 285 (51), v. 75.

[5] v. 171, 226, 272; 306 has the pretty line *ὁδὸν καλὴν βάδιζε καὶ μέμνησό μου.*

The age of the deceased is rarely mentioned[1] but the date of death is commonly added in the Kebsud district[2]. One funeral monument of Cyzicus[3] is dated by the hipparch's name.

The sculpture is rarely of merit, such refinement as is shewn by the relief of v. 149 being quite exceptional. The work inclines generally to be flat and coarse, and the banquet-stelae are often overloaded with accessories: they shew obvious affinities to the votive stelae and would naturally come from the same workshops. The frequent double register[4]—in banquet-stelae the lower relief often has the figure of a horseman[5]—is common to both series, as are the incised subordinate figures.

The only hint of the idea of absorption in the godhead is the solitary inscription from Besbicus[6] where the relief represents Isis and Serapis. This may be merely due to carelessness on the part of customer or engraver, like the relief of Cybele dedicated to Poseidon, and it is impossible to predicate anything of an isolated example: but the same idea of ultimate identity between the village god and his worshippers is shewn by such dedications as IV. 13 (to Zeus Hypsistos and the village) and IV. 20 (to Zeus and the villagers): while the remarkable stele of Soterichus, Artemon and Meidias (V. 269), with its type of a sacrifice to three horsemen, evidently implies the apotheosis of the deceased.

Later inscriptions are most frequently engraved on sarcophagi: a curious example of the preference for this form is the diminutive marble coffin at Tchinily Kiosk[7] containing a marble bust of an emaciated boy. The use of the word *ὑπόμνημα*, which has occurred also earlier on the stelae[8], becomes almost invariable on the sarcophagi. It is so characteristic of the district that unless reason be shewn to the contrary, it is considered sufficient evidence for the attribution of inscriptions of

[1] II. 11 (a), V. 272, 296. [2] Cf. also V. 341, Aboulliond. [3] V. 289.

[4] Cf. V. 38, 52, 154, 172, 176, 186, 193, 195 A, 228.

[5] V. 24, 65 A, 161, 184, 228, 253 (Dumont (p. 514) quotes seven cases from Thrace), cf. V. 62, 256: the horseman appears alone in V. 184. The type is also used on the stelae dedicated to Enbeilus and the Hero.

[6] V. 214. [7] No. 46 (74).

[8] e.g. V. 27, 108, 142 A, 193, 222, 235, 250.

uncertain provenance[1]: outside Cyzicus and the neighbourhood (the word is regular at Gunen, not uncommon at Apollonia, and extends south to Kebsud)[2] few examples of its occurrence are known[3]: the somewhat similar *ὑπομνεία* appears once in Thrace[4]. The long vogue enjoyed by the Cyzicene term is shewn by its occurrence on a Byzantine sarcophagus at Kurshunlu[5].

The usual formula for sarcophagus inscriptions from the Antonine period is as follows:—*Ὑπόμνημα τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος ὃ κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ (ζῶν καὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ γυναικὶ...καὶ τῷ υἱῷ...*etc.), *τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀπαγορεύω· εἰ δέ τις τολμήσει ἕτερον καταθέσθαι δώσει τῷ ταμείῳ δηνάρια βφ'*, etc.—the form being open to any variations which personal taste or illiterateness might suggest. The largest scope for originality is offered by the threat at the end, which though often merely legal, is sometimes joined with an appeal to superstition. The fine may be made payable not only to the treasury, but to the fiscus (159, 223), the city (58, 71, 159*, 263), or to a trade-guild (*ἱερώτατον συνέδριον*, 100, 140, 182, 207, 244), or the executors (308). The additional precaution of placing a copy of the epitaph among the archives is mentioned in 289, while the appeal to the law of *τυμβωρυχία* is made in 100, 244, 323.

The religious curse, with its more or less elaborate protasis, varies still more: in 243, we have remains of the old formula *μηδὲ γῆν βατὴν μηδὲ θάλασσαν πλωτὴν*, etc.; in 271 *ὃς ἂν τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα περικρούσῃ ἢ μεταλλεύσῃ ὀλῇ πανωλῇ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα αὐτοῦ ἐπαράτῳ μόρῳ* (cf. the similar 7, 145, 258, 290). A direct appeal to the gods occurs in 324:—*τῶν ἐπουρανίων θεῶν καὶ τῶν καταχθονίων κεχολωμένων τύχοιτο καὶ ἐπάρατος ἔστω*, etc. This class of curse culminates in the triumph of vindictiveness which appears in v. 49:—*Εἰ δέ τις ἀνοίξας ἕτερον βαλῇ νεκρὸν χωρὶς ἐμοῦ ἢ συνβουλεύσῃ ἢ προξενήσῃ ἢ ἀγοράσῃ ἢ*

[1] So v. 146 A, 250 A, are accepted as Cyzicene by the editors of the new *Corpus* and v. 234 A, by the Louvre authorities.

[2] v. 211, 298, 302.

[3] *C.I.G.* 9257 (Oenus); Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη II. p. 95 (Tourbali); Dumont, 86 c (Thrace, Christian).

[4] *C.I.G.* 2032.

[5] v. 23.

πωλήσῃ τὸν τόπον ἢ δόλον πονηρὸν ποιήσῃ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος γενήσεται μανεὶς[1] καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνου, δώσει δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ ταμείῳ Χβφ', διώξουσιν δὲ οἱ δαίμονες οἱ τεταγμένοι ἀπὸ ἀναπαύσεως—all of which has not prevented the breaking up of the sarcophagus, and the insertion of its inscription in a fountain.

Two examples of the Christian formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν[2], are to be found in V. + 9, + 10; both are characteristically illiterate. The other Christian inscriptions are sufficiently described in the Index[3].

[1] Is it fanciful to consider this an indirect appeal to Mên Katachthonios, often invoked in similar circumstances on Phrygian tombs?

[2] See Ramsay, *Phryg.* I. (2) 468.

[3] § V. b.

CHAPTER XXXI.

NOMENCLATURE.

WE have at Cyzicus an unusual opportunity for drawing such results as may be obtained from local nomenclature, since several of the longest inscriptions are mere lists of names.

Names of the Gods.

Characteristic of the region, and shewing its affinities with Phrygia, is the frequency of names derived from Mên and the Mother—the old gods of the district; though we have as yet no record of Mên so far north, compounds of his name are unusually common and varied in the Cyzicus neighbourhood; thus we find Menodorus, Menodotus, Menias, Menophanes, Menophantus, Menophilus, Menicetes[1], Menothea[2], Menothemis[3], while the old form Manes occurs in the earliest Cyzicene inscription[4] and again in a Hadrianic list[5]. Similarly, the corresponding names, Metrodorus, Metrodotus, Metrophanes, Metrobius[6] are extremely common.

The same applies also to Artemis and Apollo compounds, as Artemon, Artemas, Artemus, Artemisius, Artemidorus (Mendas, for Bendas, occurs once[7]), and Apollonius, Apollonias, Apollodorus, Apollodotus, Apollophanes, Apollonides[8].

Demetrius, Epaphroditus, and derivatives of Athena, Poseidon, Hermes and Dionysus occur frequently here as everywhere. Bacchius is a favourite name and Euius occurs in II. 6.

Of the Egyptian cults we find traces in Serapion, Serapiacus[9], Isidorus[10], Isarchus[11].

[1] IV. 34, etc. [2] V. 237. [3] V. 204. [4] I. i.
[5] II. 4, cf. also IV. 58, *C.I.A.* II. 2, 983. [6] IV. 56 A. [7] VI. 32.
[8] Sminthia from the common epithet of Apollo in the Troad, V. 23.
[9] II. 17. [10] II. 4, 9. [11] IV. 25.

Of river-names Aesepus[1], Embilus[2], Rhyndacus[3] and Sagarius[4] occur once each, Maeandrius is curiously more common[5] while Potamon and Potamantus are common and characteristic.

Of Rivers.

We may refer to the Pergamene period, the common Attalus, the rare Attales[6] and Eumenes, as also the excessively common Asclepiades, with the other Asclepiad names, Asclas[7], Asclepas, Asclepiacus, Asclepias, Asclepiodorus, Asclepiodotus, and Telesphorus[8], Telesphorion[9].

Pergamene.

Other common and characteristic Greek names are Adimantus, Hestiaeus, Midias, Perigenes, Zopyrus and Zotichus. Of Roman names it is interesting to remark Mucius in a pre-imperial inscription[10] and Pescennius in IV. 21.

Roman.

The Imperial family-names Iulius, Claudius, Aelius, and most of all, after the extension of the franchise, Aurelius, are naturally common, Flavius comparatively rare.

In Phrygia, Professor Ramsay has remarked on the frequency of Epic names, partly perhaps owing to the number of slaves and freedmen. The same holds good for the Cyzicus district, not only in Imperial times, but as early at least as the fourth century B.C.

Epic.

The following names occur:—

Achilles, III. 17
Adrastus, II. 5
Aeneas, IV. 76
Aeolus, I. 13
Aesepus (cf. *Iliad* vi. 21), I. 1
Alexander (passim)
Amphitryon, II. 1
Andigone (*sic*), V. 20
Andromache, V. 16
Antiope, V. 27
Apsyrtus, V. 34
Arius, V. 43, 44
Auge, V. 181
Callisto, V. 71
Chrysothymis (*sic*), V. 24
Codrus, V. 80
Cretheus, V. 86
Cyzicus, II. 9
Danaus, V. 93
Daphnis, V. 94
Dardanus, II. 12
Eteoneus, I. 24
Euneos, I. 6, III. 26
Euphrosyne, V.+13
Glaucus, II. 8, III. 10
Helena, V. 155

[1] I. 1.
[2] V. 105.
[3] *C.I.A.* III. 3. 3105.
[4] VI. 30.
[5] I. 1. etc.
[6] II. 5.
[7] IV. 77.
[8] II. 5, etc.
[9] II. 5.
[10] II. 4b.

Helenus, II. 4
Hylas, II. 6
Idomeneus, V. 31
Jason, IV. 56 A, VI. 44
Linus, V. 172
Meleager, III. 33, IV. 31, 32, 89, V. 187
Memnon, IV. 4
Menelaus, I. 8, II. 17, III. 10; cf. V. 195 A.
Menestheus, I. 8, II. 5, IV. 51
Miletus, II. 12, V. 186
Minos, II. 6
Narcissus, II. 5
Nestor, III. 35
Olympus, II. 8, V. 129, IV. 79
Orestes, IV. 64
Parthenopaeus, V. 103
Pelops, II. 10
Perseus, II. 5
Phoenix, I. 23, II. 8, IV. 76
Phrixus, IV. 29
Polyeidos, IV. 70
Polymedon, II. 6
Telephus, II. 8
Teucer, I. 21; cf. Suidas s.v.
Theseus, II. 4, 8, IV. 22
Tlepolemus, V. 63

Barbarous.

Non-Greek names are comparatively rare: the common Phrygian Tatas, Tata, and its derivative Tatias occur once each[1]: the word is probably contained in the ethnic Tadocomites[2] and we may also connect with it the Zeus-Titias of Dindymon, whom we know better as Attis or Attes. A simple root ta- meaning "father" probably forms the base of all. A root pa- with similar meaning reduplicates to Papas, a Bithynian name of Zeus Attis[3], and forms the name Papias[4], of which Apphias[5] is another form (cf. Attis, Attes, and Titias, Tatias[6]), while Ammias, Ammia, Ammion[7] are similarly derived (through Ammas, a name of Cybele quoted by Hesychius) from the simple root ma-. So that these names fall also under the category of derivatives from divine names.

Daos[8] is also a Phrygian name, signifying a wolf[9]. It is very common further south, and is used as an epithet of a native god (cf. Apollo Lycius) in Ramsay's inscr. 468. Nana[10] was the name of the daughter of Sangarius, who gave birth to Attis[11].

[1] V. + 31, 21, 101. [2] IV. 50.
[3] Arr. frag. 30, cf. Hdt. IV. 59, Zeus Papaeus in Scythia.
[4] II. 5, V. 104, V. 226. [5] V. 104, etc. Cf. Apphion, V. 191.
[6] Attalus and Papylus (V. + 32) are perhaps diminutive forms, cf. Ramsay, *Phryg.*, I. 382.
[7] V. 7, 13, 104, Ammiane, V. 22.
[8] V. 105, Foreign Inscr., *Miletus* 2, cf. Deos, V. 51; Amma, V. 255. (Mamas is another form corresponding exactly to Papas.)
[9] Suidas, S.V. [10] V. 214.
[11] Arnob. *adv. Gent.*, V. 6.

A few native names recall the Thracian element in the population e.g.: Rhymetalces[1], Doedalses[2], Aulouzelmeus[3] and possibly Zela[4]: Mamouges[5] has affinities further south[6] and with Scopanes[7] Mordtmann connects the Armenian (? Turkish) Tchoban (shepherd).

Other Non-Greek names are Theibas[8], Bocedes[9] (?), Bospon[10], Katomarus[11], Akatyllis Algoumis[12], Medite[13]. Manes and Embilus we have mentioned above.

It will be noticed that many of the barbarous names belong to persons who possessed a Greek name as well, and who for the most part required a second name to distinguish them from their fathers[14]: thus we find:—

1. *Greek and native name.*

Eutychion(II.),	qui et	Mamouges (II. 7).
Perigenes (II.),	qui et	Scopanes (II. 5).
Epaphroditus (II),	qui et	Theibas (II. 9).
Zela (II.),	qui et	Zoilus (II. 11).
? Algoumis,	qui et	S.

2. *Both names Greek.*

Onesimus (II.),	qui et	Telesphorus (II. 5).
Artemon (II.),	qui et	Scymnus? (V. 48).
Asclepiades (II.),	qui et	Hieronices (V. 173).
Cl. Eumenes	qui et	Moschus (I. 21).
Epinicius,	qui et	Cynas (Eusebius, *Ol.* 246).
Nympheros,	qui et	Nicanor (V. 221).

3. *Greek and Latin names.*

Gaius (II.),	qui et	Pistus (III. 38).
Hermas,	qui et	Mercurius (VI. 23).
Q. Laenas,	qui et	Lysimachus (V. 162).
Unio,	qui et	Dionysius (V. 107).

[1] II. 7.

[2] III. 25. The name occurs further South in the forms Na, Nana, Ena, Anna (Ramsay, *Phryg. Inscr.*, 184, 97, 91, 175). Cf. Strabo, 563; Photius, 228; Le Bas, 1782, all of which are Bithynian.

[3] IV. 44. Cf. Dumont, p. 545, for many similar names.

[4] II. 12. Kotes (if my reading is correct) in VI. 11. Diliporis in V. 196 A, Μοκᾶς.

[5] II. 8. [6] Cf. *P.A.S.* III. 272, Μαμουζηνός. [7] II. 5. [8] II. 10.

[9] V. 173.

[10] I. 11, cf. *Bospes*, V. 155. [11] V. 169.

[12] V. 10. [13] V. 298.

[14] Ramsay discusses these double names in *Phrygia* 1_2. 637.

Also

Dionysii, qui et Paterion (v. 219)[1].
P. Aelius cognomine
Sosias, qui et Crissimus[2] (II. 6).

The only mention of the mother's name is in II. 7 (Apollonius Prepusae[3]).

[1] The rare name Paterion suggests that it was a translation of Papias.

[2] II. Αἴλιος ὁ ἐπίκλην Σωσίας, ὁ καὶ Κρίσσιμος: ἐπίκλην is, according to Ramsay, p. 400, a mark of Christianity: though the inscr. is a public list, the name Κρίσσιμος is suspicious, cf. κρίσιμος ἡμέρα in a Christian inscr. (Ramsay, 353–4).

[We may here notice that the name Ἀμέριμνος (suspected as Christian by Ramsay ad inscr. 465–6) occurs in our inscr. II. 17. (See also foreign inscr. *Heraclea*, II.)]

[3] Cf. v. 214 (?).

PART IV.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GOVERNMENT.

THE government of Cyzicus, as we have seen, was normally democratic, or perhaps more truly plutocratic, and only by exception, as during the Spartan supremacy, oligarchic. Tyrannis was a phase in every Greek state normally forming the transition from oligarchy to democracy, but occasionally due also to the bitterness of Greek factions, no less than to the lust of power in individuals. Our earliest record (late sixth century)[1] is of democracy.

Legislation was carried on by the national assembly aided by its committee the Boule: the nation was divided for purposes of government into six tribes, of which four are the Ionian Argadeis, Hopletes, Aegicoreis and Geleontes; the other two, Oenopes and Boreis, are known also at Miletus the mother city of Cyzicus[2].

Boule: Tribes.

To these six tribes were added in early Imperial times, two new ones called Juleis and Sebasteis, probably composed of the resident aliens who had been attracted during the republican period on account of the commercial prosperity of the city.

Over the tribes presided the phylarchs: in late times, when ornamental titles were much sought after, it is not unusual to find more than one phylarch to each tribe in the prytany lists. Boeckh suggests that there were

Phylarchs.

[1] Michel. 532 (I. i.).

[2] *Sber. Berl. Akad.* 1904, XIX.; both Βῶρεις and Οἶνωπες survived as subdivisions of the tribes at Ephesus. *B.M. Inscr.* CCCCLVIII., CCCCLXXI., DLXXVIII., CCCCLXI., DLXXVIII.

normally three, one for each trittys, but this was evidently not the case in the third century B.C.[1], when six only are enumerated, and another inscription[2] is some evidence for the single acting official in the Antonine period. The honorary title was probably retained by ex-phylarchs. We have, moreover, no record of trittyes at Cyzicus, beyond the occurrence of the obscure μεσὴς[3] which has been supposed to signify "of the middle trittys." The corresponding terms for the first and third trittyes do not, however, occur, and in *C.I.G.* 3657 μεσὴς may perhaps be explained by the opening clause ἐπεὶ Ἀρίσταν̣δρός φησιν—i.e. the originator did not propose his motion in person, but employed a "middle-man[4]."

Meses.

The association of phylarchs and strategi in IV. 56 and I. 21 (the wall inscription) where each body has its president, shews that the phylarchs had general duties, outside the registration and organisation of the tribes.

A comparison with the formulae in VI. 13 and *C.I.G.* 2981 (Apollonia ad Rh.), where again two officials are mentioned as representatives of the ἄρχοντες, suggests that the boards of phylarchs and strategi together were designated by the general term.

Archontes.

The Boule sat in the Bouleuterion[5] (in which was kept the anchor stone of the Argonauts[6]) and appointed its clerk, whose name is fairly regularly cited in the preambles of public documents.

Bouleuterion.

The monthly inner council or Prytanis[7] of the Boule was composed of (probably fifty) members of each tribe in succession[8]. They sat in the Prytaneum, a building constructed, Pliny tells us[9], without iron nails, evidently for superstitious reasons[10], where also the public dinner was given to those who had deserved well of the state[11]. By a later

Prytaneis.

[1] IV. 76. [2] II. 18. [3] I. 8, 13, 14.

[4] I. 13. Cf. also Ditt. 365, εἰδηγησαμένων τῶν ἀρχόντων πάντων, Αἴολος μεσὴς ἐπὶ Μηνοφῶντος εἶπεν.

[5] Aristid. *Or. Sac.* v. (I. 538 Dind.).

[6] Plin. XXXVI. 23.

[7] Compare II. (lists) in the catalogue of inscriptions.

[8] I. 3, cf. I. 2. [9] *N.H.* XXXVI. 23. [10] Cf. the *Pons Sublicius*.

[11] Liv. XLI. 20.

arrangement[1], this committee was composed of fifty members chosen from pairs of tribes in rotation: this plan evidently dates after the formation of the two new tribes, and was devised to give an equal number of months in the year to each tribe, which would of course have been impossible with eight tribes serving alternately: the members were presumably, as the division between the two tribes is generally unequal, chosen from the candidates of those tribes taken together, either by lot, or possibly in proportion to the strength of the tribes concerned. The pairs are (1) Boreis and Aegicoreis, (2) Argadeis and Geleontes, (3) Oenopes and Hopletes, (4) Sebasteis and Juleis.

The president of the prytany as a whole is called prytanarches, the daily president as at Athens epistates[2].

Kallies.

In a second month of office the ex-prytanis presided over the *κάλλιον*, which we have identified with the precinct of the Eleusinian goddesses. The *κάλλιον* at Athens is described as a law court[3], which was also apparently a precinct[4], like the court called *τέμενος* Μητιόχου[5]. The Cyzicene *κάλλιον* may have united both religious and juridical functions: the intimate connection of religion and justice especially in cases of homicide and perjury is obvious. At Athens homicide was investigated before the Basileus and *ἐξηγητὴς τῶν ὁσίων*, and "Basileus," and occasionally *ἐξηγητὴς*[6], figures among the titles of the prytanies in the Cyzicene lists.

Prytanarch.

The prytanarch remained as president of the *καλλιάζοντες*, with the title of calliarch or *ἄρχων τοῦ καλλίου*. The latter title is always the one quoted in the lists of prytanies.

Calendar.

The Cyzicene calendar is not yet fully known, but the months may be disposed with tolerable certainty in the following order[7]:

[1] We have no record earlier than Hadrian, and the Aegicoreis serve alone on a stele of that date, II. 5.

[2] I. 3. Cf. I. 2. [3] Bekk., *Anecd.* I. 270. [4] *Ib.* I. 271.

[5] *Ib.* I. 309. Cf. *Poll.* VIII. 121, where it is called *τὸ Μητίχου κάλλιον* and the name derived from its architect Μήτιχος. [6] II. 6.

[7] See W. Kersten, *De Cyzico quaestt. epigraph.* Halle dissert. 1886. See also Ahrens (*Rhein. Mus.*, XVII. 335). Lolling (*Ath. Mitth.*) XIII. 307. Clodius Fasti Ionici, Halle dissert. 1882.

Cyzicene.	*Attic.*
1. (Boedromion)[1]	1. Boedromion
2. Cyanepsion, II. 2	2. Pyanepsion
3. Apatureon, II. 1	3. Maemacterion
4. Poseideon[2], II. 8, etc.	4. Poseideon
5. Lenaeon, II. 8, etc.	5. Gamelion
6. Anthesterion[3], II. 8, etc.	6. Anthesterion
7. Artemision, I. 5	7. Elaphebolion
8. Taureon, I. 5	8. Munychion
9. Thargelion, II. 4	9. Thargelion
10. Calamaeon, II. 3	10. Scirophorion
11. Panemus, II. 3	11. Hecatombaeon
12. (Cronion)	12. Metageitnion

The bracketed month-names do not occur in the Cyzicene records. Inscriptions vouch for the sequences (1) Poseidon—Lenaeon—Anthesterion: (2) Artemision—Taureon: (3) Calamaeon—Panemus, while the Samian Calendar[4] vouches for the sequence of (4) Panemus and Cronion, though Cronion is originally equivalent to Attic Hecatombaeon[5].

Three months of the Zeleian Calendar—Acatallus, Heraeus and Cecyposius (?)—are mentioned in I. 16.

Subsequent evidence has shewn that, contrary to Boeckh's supposition, the order in which the tribes served was not regular: thus the prytaneis for Calamaeon in II. 3 are Aegicoreis and Geleontes, in II. 5 Hopletes (and Oenopes?). We may, therefore, suppose that precedence was assigned them by lot, certainly till the new arrangement was introduced by which two tribes shared each prytanis. Before this arrangement it may have been felt inconvenient that, with eight tribes and twelve months, each tribe did not serve an equal number of terms in the year. By the new arrangement each of the four pairs would serve

[1] Boedromion occurs at Olbia, a colony of Miletus, where all known months (viz. Anthesterion, Apatureon, Kalamaeon, Lenaeon, Panemus) coincide with the Cyzicene (see Latyschev, *Inscrr. Or. Sept. Maris Euxini*, I.). Taureon in Herondas VII. 86.

[2] I. 16.

[3] Anthesterion is known also at Apollonia, v. 233?

[4] Ahrens, *loc. cit.* 329.

[5] With regard to the subdivision of the months, the tripartite scheme (cf. *φθίνοντος* Inscr. I. 8, 9, *ἀπίοντος* I. 10) seems to have been given up in Imperial times in favour of the simpler system of our own day (cf. I. 13, *Θαργηλιῶνος θ'* : I. 14, *Ληναιῶνος ι'*).

thrice. The date of the change falls between Hadrian and Caracalla (i.e. within the period of the first Neocorate).

Eras.

No era is mentioned on any monument of known Cyzicene provenance: records are dated by the hipparch. The Sullan era was used at Apollonia[1] and apparently also in the Kebsud district. The Bithynian era (?) of the "Nicaean" stelae[2] may be compared with that of the similar stele from Triglia[3].

Gerousia.

The Gerousia is mentioned only twice, both times in funeral inscriptions[4]; this is negative evidence in favour of Ramsay's idea[5] that it was merely a social club, analogous to that of the Neoi, and quite devoid of political significance.

Archon.

The eponymous magistrate at Cyzicus was in early times, as at Athens, called *ἄρχων*. Our earliest inscription (sixth century[6]) B.C. does not mention the title, the heading being simply *ἐπὶ Μαιανδρίου*, but an early fourth century inscription[7] is prefaced by the words *ἐπὶ Ἑρμοδώρου ἄρχοντος ἐγ Κυζίκῳ*, while our earliest eponymous hipparch occurs in the wall inscription[8] dated by Perrot about the middle of the fourth century.

Hipparch.

The importance of the Hipparch's office must have grown up at the time of the Cyzicene conquest of the mainland (of which we have unfortunately no details) and perhaps implies a system of mounted *gendarmerie*[9]. From this period onwards we have uniformly hipparchs (the title is sometimes omitted; but between dates which presuppose a hipparch), while the title *archon* seems to be used in its more general sense, as for instance in the preambles of I. 2, 13, 15 and in the common use of *ἄρχων* in the prytany lists, where *τοῦ καλλίου* is to be supplied. The strategi especially are

[1] III. 2. Cf. v. 337. See Ramsay, *Phryg.* i. I. 203.

[2] III. 20 A, 38 A. [3] IV. 4.

[4] v. 244 (fine payable to *γερουσία*). Cf. v. 266 (*γερουσιαστὴς*).

[5] *C. B. Phryg.*, i. II. 438 ff. [6] I. 1. [7] II. 20. [8] I. 21.

[9] Not only for the general security of the country, but for the protection of the trade-routes. The Ilian decree shews that native troops were posted at Poemanenum even in Roman republican times. See Ramsay, *Phrygia* i. 1. 258 ff. on the *φυλακῖται*.

alluded to under the more general word archon, while the plural archontes, as we have suggested above, may include also the board of Phylarchs.

The list of known hipparchs is arranged in roughly chronological order, but hardly one can be dated with certainty: the formula *ἐπὶ ἱππάρχεω* seems generally earlier than *ἱππαρχοῦντος*, the usual form in imperial inscriptions, though both occur together in I. 11 and *ἐπὶ ἱππάρχεω* sporadically as late as Caligula. The office seems to have become in the Roman period almost purely honorary: it was held by Poseidon as early as the third century B.C., and under the Antonines it is duplicated, and bestowed on a woman or even two women.

Village government.

The ultimate responsibility of the hipparch for the government of the whole territory of Cyzicus in republican times is shewn by the occurrence of his name on several inscriptions obviously from the villages[1] and one from the islands[2]. The country districts were divided into boroughs[3] each governed by a magistrate called *διοικητὴς*, aided by a staff consisting of a clerk, five diaconi, and a cellarer. Directly under the diocetes were probably the *πρωτοκωμηταὶ*[4] or village headmen of his district. The *χῶροι*, which are distinct from the *κωμαὶ*[5], may be compared to the modern *nahie*, the diocetes and protocometes being perhaps equivalent to the *kaimakam* and the village *muktar* respectively.

Strategus.

The great difference between the hipparch and the strategus (who in other countries, e.g. Acarnania, Aetolia, takes precedence of him) is that the authority of the latter does not extend outside the city limits. The hipparch is mentioned before and apart from the strategi in I. 21, IV. 76, II. 20; in the latter case the normal five strategi with their co-opted colleague, probably an extraordinary member of the board, are all given their full title of strategi *τῆς πόλεως* in I. 14, the similar title of strategus *κατὰ πόλιν* is given to one man, probably the senior.

[1] Inscr. IV. 4, 23, 82, 88. [2] II. 24. [3] *διοικήσεις*, cf. Str. 629, Inscr. IV. 4, 23.

[4] V. 127. The word is discussed at some length in *J. H. S.*, XXII. 359, in connection with a possibly Christian inscription mentioning a female *διάκονος*.

[5] Cf. especially V. 26 A.

In accordance with their limited sphere of influence we find the senior strategi[1] placing their names on the coinage, except in a single instance. These names are added not for dating purposes, the primary use of a hipparch's name, but as a guarantee of the coin. So in the coinage of mediaeval Europe the moneyer's name or mark appears many hundreds of years before the date.

Nauarch.

The nauarch[2], mentioned only in Inscr. IV. 40, was probably a yearly magistrate, if we may judge by Abydos, where he was eponymous[3]. The nesiarch mentioned in Inscr. I. 5, though a Cyzicene, must be referred to the confederacy of the Cyclades[4].

Imperial officials. Logistes.

An imperial accountant[5] (λογιστὴς) of Cyzicus, M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus, is mentioned in an inscription of Aphrodisias[6], where he had served in many capacities; Cyzicus in her turn provided an accountant for Ilion, with which city she seems to have been on good terms since the Mithradatic war[7], in A. Claudius Caecina Pausanias[8], who had served as strategus in his native city[9], probably under Antoninus[10], and was there honoured with the dedication of a statue by his clerk (πραγματευτὴς) Metrodorus[11]. Ti. Claudius Severus (another strategus of Cyzicus? but apparently a Galatian by birth) was sent as an accountant to Bithynia[12]: all three cases conform to Ramsay's rule that imperial accountants serve in the second century outside their native cities.

[1] Strategi and archontes are identical on coins. Cf. *B. M. Cat.*: Lydia preface C. I. and Le Bas W. 1044 στρατηγίας Αὐρ Τιμοκράτου α' ἄρχοντος. Imhoof, *Kl. M.*, p. 89, 30, ἐπὶ ἄρχ(οντος) προ(τάνεως?).

[2] IV. 40.

[3] *C.I.G.* 2160.

[4] See *B.C.H.*, XVIII., 1894, p. 400 ff.

[5] Cf. Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I. 162, 228. Ramsay, *Phrygia*, i. II. 369.

[6] *C.I.G.* 2782.

[7] Cf. the apparition of Athena, the (Cyzicene?) troops sent from Poemanenum, and the honorary decree. *C.I.G.* 3598=Dörpf. p. 465, 27.

[8] *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, 57 Παυσανίαν appears as AION, which, being corroborated by Dörpf. (x. 588), is perhaps an engraver's error.

[9] I. 24.

[10] Mionn. 180=B. M. 216?

[11] *C.I.G.* 3680.

[12] *C.I.G.* 4033, 4034.

Procurator.

An imperial procurator (*ἐπίτροπος*) was stationed at Apollonia[1], possibly to collect the harbour dues of that port for the fiscus[2].

Civic officials.

Of civic officials, we have noticed the strategus of the city, who took probably a general responsibility for the Government within the municipal boundaries extending to the coinage and including the police.

Architects.

Three architects, according to Strabo[3], were regularly appointed during the republican period for the supervision of the public buildings and the engines of war: it may have been one of these official architects who was sent (*ἕνεκα τῆς νεωποιίας?*) on the embassy to Samothrace[4].

An extraordinary official of the same character was the *τειχοποιὸς*[5] who was appointed when the city walls were being built in the fourth century. He was entrusted with the general supervision of the work, which was carried out by contract, each contractor undertaking a definite portion. The position of the architect in charge of Tryphaena's harbour works[6] seems to have been similar: he was certainly appointed for the purpose. It may be that the permanent architects formed a Board of Public Works, reporting on dilapidations, and deciding what measures should be taken.

A *νεωποιὸς τῶν Σεβαστῶν*[7] must have held temporary office only.

Sitophylax.

Over the food supply—Strabo[8] mentions the public granaries, which did the city good service during the Mithradatic siege—presided the sitophylakes[9]: over the regulation of the market—a market of men[10] is mentioned

Agoranomi. Stephanephori.

besides that built or enlarged by Tryphaena[11]—the agoranomi, who are associated with the stephanephori (religious officials as appears from I. 2 (*b*)) for the maintenance of public order in Inscr. I. 14.

[1] *C.I.G.* 2981.
[2] Cf. *A.E.M.*, XIX. 27.
[3] 572.
[4] *C.I.G.* 2158, but the reading is uncertain.
[5] I. 21.
[6] IV. 68.
[7] III. 49.
[8] 572.
[9] Dumont Inscr., Thrace, 378, 64a, II. 17.
[10] I. 8.
[11] I. 14.

Limenarch. Tamias. Trapezites.

The limenarch[1] had presumably charge of the customs and of the port in general, while finance was in the hands of the tamias[2] (treasurer) and trapezites[3] (banker).

Trade guilds.

Trade guilds known at Cyzicus are:—

(1) The harbour porters (V. 182);
(2) The weigh-house porters (V. 422);
(3) The fishers (V. 100);
(4) The fullers (V. 140);

while a guild of oil sellers may perhaps be inferred from the Hermes Eleopoles of IV. 75.

A company of merchants including two directors (*ἀρχῶναι*), two financial managers (*ἐπὶ τοῦ χρηματισμοῦ*), eleven shareholders (*μετοίχοι*), and two travellers (*ἐπαγωγοὶ*) is mentioned in a stele of republican date dedicated to their patron gods, Poseidon and Aphrodite Pontia[4].

Gymnasia.

Another hierarchy of officials—the Education Department of a Greek state—dealt with the gymnasia and the other institutions connected with the athletic games. Cyzicene visitors appear at most of the famous athletic contests of antiquity. At Olympia they won the stadium at the one hundred and twenty-seventh, one hundred and fifty-ninth, one hundred and sixtieth and two hundred and forty-sixth celebrations[5], and a successful boxer carried off the prize at the Olympia, Nemea and Isthmia[6]: the city's representatives appear also at Thespiae, Orchomenus and Delphi.

Paedonomus. Ephebi.

Their training began in their childhood under the paedonomus[7]. The education of the ephebi seems to have been in particularly good repute, for Teucer of Cyzicus made it the subject of a book[8]: this may in part account for the choice of Cyzicus as a place of education for several youthful princes.

The ephebi were placed in charge of an ephebarch[9] and

[1] III. 36.
[2] I. 5.
[3] IV. 85.
[4] IV. 70.
[5] Eusebius, cf. Paus. VI. 137.
[6] Paus. VI. 4, 6, cf. also V. 21, 3.
[7] I. 13, cf. I. 10.
[8] Suidas, s.v. *Τεύκρος*.
[9] I. 19. II. 17.

hypephebarch[1], who were assisted in their duties by a monitor (*διοικητὴς*)[2] chosen from the number of the ephebi.

Neoi.

Of the Neoi, who were probably superintended by the gymnasiarch[3] and xystarch[4] we have a quaint record in the curious series of inscriptions[5] commemorating various pairs of youths who had completed their course: the device is uniformly a pair of human feet on which the names of the departing scholars are engraved, with the formula *τῶν συστατῶν*[6] *καὶ ἀδελφῶν μέμνησθε ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ οἱ νεοί*. These are of course not official monuments, but partake of the nature of Graffiti.

The S.C. de Corpore Neon[7] alludes to the social side of the organisation[8] for which the *jus coeundi* was necessary: the Neoi formed a club for younger men as the Gerousia for their elders.

Colacretae.

Beyond the officials mentioned above we know of the existence of a panegyriarch (perhaps also of an agonothetes)[9] and of colacretae; the functions of the latter are unknown, but they are connected with the games of Philetaerus in II. 19, the sole mention of the office. At Athens their original religious duties became financial.

Games.

The games with which these officers are connected are intimately bound up not only with the religion and education of the Greek states, but also with the politics. The great festivals of the republican period, especially of course the Olympia, were one of the few Panhellenic influences to counteract the narrowness of city and party patriotism.

A yearly gathering of some sort[10], accompanied naturally by a fair, was a usual feature even in small local cults; it survives in the panegyris still held at the smallest Greek churches on their saints' days: games and dramatic contests of a rude sort were almost universal.

It is obvious that the Romans (perhaps using the example of the Attalids before them) did all in their power to make

[1] II. 17. [2] II. 17. [3] I. 10. [4] III. 43. [5] See VI. 29–36.
[6] Cf. Dumont, 397, 14 Z, 10. [7] I. 20. [8] Cf. Ramsay, *Phryg.* I.
[9] III. 40. [10] III. 38 A, cf. IV. 23.

these gatherings the rallying point of the philo-Roman policy from the commencement of their rule in Asia. To the temples of Apollonius and the games of Philetaerus succeed the Muciea[1], in honour of Mucius Scaevola, the organiser of the province, which are celebrated, certainly at Pergamon, that old focus of the philo-Roman idea, in connection with the religious games of Asklepios Soter. With the Muciea, as the Manyas inscription shews, was associated the common council of Asia.

Such an assembly evidently made for the levelling of local prejudices and the cultivation of the imperial ideal. At Cyzicus, while it was still a free city, a similar bond certainly existed, after the siege of Mithradates, in the Lucullea. In Tiberius' reign we find the Panathenaea in honour of Athena, Livia, and Tiberius joined with a free market for the popularising of the cult, Gaius probably freakishly institutes the games of Drusilla, while the culminating point of the continuous Roman policy is the participation of Cyzicus in the great games called Hadriana Olympia[2], inaugurated in 139[3] and comprising not only athletic but musical and poetic and dramatic contests, and attracting competitors from all parts of Asia. With these games are connected the Temple of Hadrian and probably the market-place paved by him in its neighbourhood. In virtue of this temple Cyzicus is admitted to the ranks of the Neocorate cities of Asia, their common imperial cultus and their common council. The Olympia were continued at least as late as Gallienus[4].

With the Neocorate cities Cyzicus takes her turn in the celebration of the Pan-Asiatic games, which are marked by the designation *κοινὸν* Ἀσίας, and were evidently celebrated on a more lavish scale than the ordinary Olympia. On these occasions also Cyzicus became the seat of the Council. My own opinion is also that the "high priest of Asia in Cyzicus[5]" took in these years the style of Asiarch.

[1] I. 19, cf. I. 10. It is curious that both inscriptions are from Eski Manyas, where there is still a great yearly gathering. Can Poemanenum (with its Asclepius temple) have been a pre-imperial centre, Cyzicus as a free city not being available?

[2] For records of these and other Cyzicene games see index "Games and Festivals" after IV. in the *Catalogue of Inscriptions*.

[3] See Boeckh ad *C.I.G.* 3674. [4] Cf. *Inv. Coll. Wadd.* 715. [5] II. 4, 8.

Much has been written on the question of the Asiarchate, its relation to the high priesthood of Asia and to the Common Council, and much of the evidence used is so equivocal that it is used by all parties for their own purposes. Doctor Brandis[1], so far from allowing the identity of the Asiarchate and high priesthood, considers that the Asiarchs had no religious duties, and were simply deputies of the various cities who took part in the Council. But the two offices have evidently much in common. Thus wealth is insisted on as a necessary qualification both for the asiarchate[2] and for the high priesthood[3], and as the asiarch in III. 22 and elsewhere exhibits gladiators, so does the high priest in *C.I.G.* 3942. Dio Chrysostom[4] evidently identifies the two offices. Modestinus[5] counts the Asiarchate among the national priesthoods.

Asiarch and Archiereus.

The title of "highpriest of Asia, of the temple in Cyzicus" is again exactly paralleled by the expression "asiarch of the temples in Ephesus" which is against any theory depriving the asiarch of religious functions.

The contentions (1) that more than one Asiarch might exist in the same city at the same time, and (2) that Asiarchs held civil magistracies contemporaneously[6], are both met by the assumption that all who had been Asiarchs retained the honorary title, which, if we bear in mind the Asiatic love of titles, is an easy assumption[7]. The Cyzicene inscription III. 27 shews that the wife of the Asiarch only retained her title of high priestess: she is of course, in Cyzicus, high priestess of Asia, if her husband is Asiarch. I suppose, then, that *Asiarch* was the older title, since Asiarchs had existed at the time of the Muciea, before the development of the imperial cult and the high priests of Asia: that one Asiarch was elected yearly:

[1] In Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie*, where all available evidence is collected.

[2] Str. 649. [3] Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* I. 21. 2.

[4] *Oratio Cel.* XXXV. 66 R. τοὺς ἁπάντων ἄρχοντας τῶν ἱερέων (=ἀρχιερεῖς), τοὺς ἐπωνύμους τῶν δύο ἠπείρων (='Ασιάρχαι).

[5] In *Digest* XXVII. 1, 6.

[6] Cf. the list of Strategi, a coin in Imhoof, *M.G.*, 412 (153), 'Ασιάρχου, καὶ τῆς πατρίδος (sc. ἀρχιερέως), and Ramsay *Phryg.* 690.

[7] The formula 'Ασιάρχης β' of course refers to an actual second term of office.

that he was specially chosen for his wealth, which would enable him to fulfil his part with credit in the provision of games on a sumptuous scale: that, as high priest of the imperial cultus and organiser of the games and festival, he served for one year in whatever city was chosen for the meeting of the *κοινὸν*— very frequently, as Dr Brandis observes, a foreign city[1]: that after his term he retained the title and the honours pertaining: further, that in later times the distinction between the offices was not always strictly observed.

[1] This again applies in many cases to the high-priest of Asia.

PART V

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS[1].

CLASS I. Decrees and other Public Records.
CLASS II. Official Lists.
CLASS III. Honorary Inscriptions.
CLASS IV. Votive and Religious Inscriptions.
CLASS V. Sepulchral Inscriptions.
CLASS VI. Miscellanea (landmarks, inscriptions from architecture, *graffiti* from gymnasia, small objects, etc.).
Supplement: Foreign Inscriptions relating to Cyzicus and Cyzicenes.
Indices of (1) Provenance, (2) Latin and bilingual inscriptions, (3) metrical inscriptions, (4) suggested new readings, (5) Cyzicene games and festivals, (6) foreign states and citizens, and (7) foreign games mentioned in Cyzicene inscriptions.

CLASS I. DECREES AND OTHER PUBLIC RECORDS.

1. Decree of Proxeny granted to Medices and the heirs of Aesepus, VI. cent. B.C.: the original text (*a*) is written *boustrophedon* and is followed by (*b*) a copy of later date, headed *ἐπὶ Μαιανδρίου*. *Hermes* XV. 92 (with bibliogr.), Michel 532, Dittenberger *Syll.* 312, Roehl XVI. 6, Cauer 488, Bechtel 108. Cyzicus[2].

2. (*a*) Decree of Proxeny granted to a citizen of Panticapaeum (IV. cent. B.C.) and bearing the arms of that city (a head of Pan) in relief above the text. Headed, *Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀθηναῖος ἐπεστάτει, γνώμῃ τῶν...ἀρχόντων*. (*b*) The block has been used a second time to record an oracle of the Milesian Apollo (cf. *Klio* V. 299). *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 121 (1), *B.C.H.* XIII. 515, pl. ix., *Berl. Sitzb.* 1887, 122, pl. x., Goold 17, *Tch. K. Sculp.* 114 (Goold 17). Cyzicus.

3. Fragment of similar decree granted to NN. Zopyri (?) and bearing the arms of Cyzicus. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 38 (62). Yeni Keui[3].

[1] An asterisk after a reference to a publication indicates that the monument in question is there illustrated.

[2] Now in the courtyard of the *Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* at Constantinople.

[3] See Vignette: now in the possession of Mr A. E. Henderson.

4. Similar decree, c. 390 B.C., with relief of a goat (the arms of Antandrus?): headed, *Ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀργάδεις ἐπρυτάνευεν, Δημήτριος Διονυσίο ἐπεστάτει, Θεμίστιος Κρατύλο ἐγραμμάτευεν, Διοφάνης Μέμνονος εἶπεν. Syllogos* Παράρτ. τοῦ ις′ τόμου, 4, Michel 533, *Num. Chron.* 1899 (1). Has Keui.
5. Decree thanking the Parians for conferring a crown on the nesiarch Apollodorus, early III. cent. B.C.: headed *Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Γοργόνικος Διοκλέους εἶπεν. C.I.G.* 3655, *Louvre Inscrr.* 97, *Marb.* 2859, Homolle, *Arch. Int.* 45, Michel 534, Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, 218. Cyzicus.
6. Honorary decree of Rhodes in favour of a Cyzicene embassy, II. cent. B.C.: headed *Ἐπὶ Ἀριστάνδρου. C.I.G.* 3656. Cyzicus.
7. Proxeny decree (of Miletupolis)?) in favour of Machaon Asclepiadae for his services in the war against Andronicus (c. 130 B.C.): headed, *Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Berl. Sitzb.* 1889, 397 (2), *A.-E. Mitth.* XV. 6. Ulubad.
   See also Foreign Inscrr., *Brusa.*
8. Honorary decree sanctioning the erection of a statue of Cleidice priestess of Placiane (I. cent. B.C.): headed, *Ἐπὶ Ἡγησίου, Ἀρτεμισιῶνος τετράδι φθίνοντος, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀσκληπιάδης Διοδώρου Αἰγικορεὺς μέσης ἐπὶ Μενεσθέως εἶπεν· Ἐπεὶ Ἀρίστανδρός φησιν κ.τ.λ. C.I.G.* 3657, Michel 537. Artaki.
9. Decree in two portions approving the picture and inscription prepared in honour of Cleidice and assigning a site for their erection: headed, *ἐπὶ Πεισ....ράδι φθίνοντος...οφίλου εἶπεν. Ath. Mitth.* VII. 152, 251, (*a*) *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXII. 269 (4), (*b*) *Berl. Monatsb.* 1860, 494, Michel 538. Cyzicus.
10. Honorary decree in favour of Demetrius Oeniadae, c. 25 B.C., *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 28, *B.P.W.* 1892, 740, cf. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 89. Eski Manyas[1].
11. Decree providing for settlement of accounts with one Theognetus (temp. J. Caesaris): headed, *Μηνὸς Ταυρεῶνος τρίτῃ ἀπίοντος, ἐπὶ ἱππάρχεω Βόσπωνος, ἔδοξεν τοῖς πολίταις, Δίφιλος Ἀπολλωνίου εἶπεν. C.I.G.* 3658. Cyzicus.
12. Decree in favour of Antonia Tryphaena in return for her benefactions to the city (reign of Tiberius): headed, *Ἐπὶ Παυσανίου, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ...ἐπὶ Δημητρίου εἶπεν. Syllogos* VII. 23, cf. VIII. 164, *Berl. Monatsb.* 1874, 16 (3), *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 55, *B.C.H.* VI. 613, cf. Ἐφ. Αρχ. 1890, 157, Wilhelm, *Beiträge* 197. Tcharik Keui[2].
13. Decree in honour of Tryphaena on the occasion of her visit to the city with her three sons (reign of Caligula): headed, *Ἐπὶ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἱππάρχεω μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος θ′, ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ εἰσηγησαμένων τῶν ἀρχόντων πάντων, γραμματεὺς βουλῆς Αἴολος Αἰόλου Οἴνῳψ μέσης ἐπὶ*

[1] The lower half is now at A. Triada, Panderma.

Μηνοφῶντος εἶπεν. *Berl. Monatsb.* 1874, 16 (4), *Syllogos* locc. citt., *Philol. Obresnija* 1895, 113, Dittenberger *Syll.*$_2$ 365. Tcharik Keui[1].

14. Decree of similar date regulating the new market of Tryphaena: headed, Ἐπὶ Ἑστιαίου τοῦ Θεμιστώνακτος ἱππάρχεω, Δηναιῶνος ι', ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀπολλώνιος Δημητρίου μέσης ἐπὶ Θεμιστώνακτος εἶπεν. *Ath. Mitth.* XVI. 141, *R.E.G.* VI. 8, cf. *B.S.A.* XII. 183, Dittenberger *Syll.*$_2$ 366. Cyzicus[2].

For the works of Antonia Tryphaena, cf. also Inscrr. III. 23, IV. 68, 69.

15. Fragment of contemporary decree. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 25 (4). Ulubad.

16. Decree (of Zeleia) regulating the administration of public lands after expulsion of tyrant (IV. cent. B.C.): headed, Ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, Κλέων ἐπεστάτει, Τιμοκλῆς εἶπεν. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 229, Bechtel 113 (revised), Dittenberger *Syll.*$_2$ 154, Michel 530. Sari Keui.

17. Decree regulating sale of exiles' property (similar date): headed, Ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 58 (6). Sari Keui.

18. Decrees of proxeny, similar date, headings as (16), in favour of (*b*) Nicon of Thurii, (*c*) Demophanes of Ephesus, (*e*) Cleander of Proconnesus and others. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 58, (1)—(5), Michel 531, Bechtel 114. Sari Keui.

19. Honorary decree of the Council of Asia in favour of Herostratus Dorcalionis (42 B.C.). *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXIV. 106 (3), *Ath. Mitth.* XV. 156, *J.H.S.* XVII. 276 (27), *Syllogos* Παράρτ. τοῦ ιε' τόμου, 64—7. Eski Manyas.

20. Senatus Consultum de Corpore Neon, c. 150 A.D. *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXI. 350, *Eph. Ep.* III. 156, *C.I.L.* III. 7060. Cyzicus.

21. Contract for building a tower (c. 350 B.C.), hipparchate of Euphemus Leodamantis. *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXX. 93, Michel 596, Bechtel 111. Cyzicus.

22. Contract for building a wall, similar date. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 39 (63). Cyzicus.

23. Stele recording gifts of Philetaerus I. to Cyzicus arranged chronologically under hipparchs. *J.H.S.* XXII. 193 (3), see *R.E.G.* 1902, 302 ff., Dittenberger *Or. Gr. Inscrr.* 748, Wilhelm, *Beiträge* 322. Cyzicus.

24. Acceptance of a crown by Cl. Eumenes, hipparchate of Cl. Eteoneus, *B.C.H.* XIV. 537 (2), *Klio* V. 299. Cyzicus.

25. Mutilated inscription relating to customs. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 15. Ermeni Keui.

26. Fragment relating to tribal accounts[3]. Gedeon 16, pl. i. 5. Kouklia.

27. Indeterminate fragment. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 315. Kebsud.

[1] Said to be near Artaki.

[2] Now in the Imperial Museum, Constantinople.

[3] οἱ Αἰγικόραι ὀφείλουσιν... | ...ην ἀργυρίο τὸ ἐθελοντ... | τ]ω οχορο.

CLASS II. CATALOGUES.

1. List of Prytaneis for Apaturion, hipparchate of Terentius Donatus and Vibius Amphictyon (reign of Hadrian?). *C.I.G.* 3661. Cyzicus.
2. List of Callieis for Pyanepsion (first Neocorate). *C.I.G.* 3662. Cyzicus.
3. List of Prytaneis for Calamaeon and Callieis for Panemus (first Neocorate). *C.I.G.* 3663. Cyzicus.
4. List of Prytaneis for Thargelion, sixth hipparchate of Chaereas (first Neocorate). *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 42 (1). Cyzicus.
5. Lists of Prytaneis: (*a*) for Calamaeon, seventh hipparchate of Chaereas: (*b*) for Artemision (Callieis for Taureon), hipparchate of Claudia Bassa, (*c*) remains of a list of late republican date. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 43 (2), Perrot I. 87 (49). Cyzicus.
6. List without heading. *Ath. Mitth.* XIII. 304. Cyzicus.
7. Three fragments of similar list. Perrot I. 87—8 (50—2). Cyzicus.
8. List of Prytaneis for Poseideon, eleventh hipparchate of Chaereas (first Neocorate). *Ath. Mitth.* XXVI. 121. Yeni Keui.
9. List of Prytaneis for Poseideon, Lenaeon, Anthesterion. *C.I.G.* 3664. Cyzicus.
10. List (of Prytaneis?), imperial period. *J.H.S.* XXII. 204 (13). Cyzicus.
11. Similar list. *B.C.H.* XIV. 538 (3). Cyzicus.
12. Similar, used later for illiterate sepulchral inscr. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 34 (52). Peramo.

12A. List of names (all Greek). *C.I.G.* 6851. Cyzicus[1]?

13. Worn stele with list of Greek date, hipparchate of Cyano (?). *J.H.S.* XXII. 207. Cyzicus.
14. Worn and broken triangular stele with remains of a list by tribes. *J.H.S.* XXII. 207. Cyzicus.
15. Fragment of a list of names[2]. Gerlach p. 44. Panderma.
16. Fragmentary list of names, imperial date. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 16 (2). Artaki.
17. List of Ephebi by tribes, hipparchate of Aur. Iulia Menelaïs[3]. *C.I.G.* 3665. Cyzicus.
18. Heading of a list of honorary citizens, hipparchate of Iulius Maior. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 83 (30). Aidinjik.
19. List of Colacretae headed by Gymnasiarch, Ephebarch and Hypephebarch (pre-imperial?). *C.I.G.* 3660. Cyzicus.
20. List of Hieromnemones, headed by archon Hermodorus (IV. cent. B.C.?). *B.C.H.* XIV. 525. 1. Cyzicus.

[1] Strangford Coll. Unknown provenance, but many of the names are characteristic of Cyzicus.

[2] Διονυσόδωρος | Διοκλῆς Μενε... | Χιωνὶς Χιόνο[ς | Ἀ[π]ολλοφάνη[ς | Δημήτριος Δι... | Ἀ(γα)[θ]άρχος.

[3] Daughter of Menelaus the Asiarch, strategus under Alex. Severus.

21. List of officials dated probably by hipparchs. *B.C.H.* XVII. 530 (30). Sari Keui.
22. List of strategi (?) including the name of G. Iulius Ariobarzanes. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 58 (2), *Klio* V. 293 ff., cf. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 67 (14*a*). Chavoutzi.
23. Fragmentary inscription (heading of a list?). *C.I.G.* 3666. Artaki.
24. List of priests of the Imperial cultus. Gedeon 90, *J.H.S.* XXVI. 29 f., Marmara.
25. List of names[1]. Gedeon 90. Marmara.
26. Fragment of list (II. cent. B.C.?). *J.H.S.* XXVI. 25 (2). Alexa.

CLASS III. HONORARY.

A. IMPERIAL.

1. Dedication of triumphal arch by Roman residents and Cyzicenes to Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius, A.D. 51. *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXI. 100, *Eph. Epig.* IV. 53, *C.I.L.* III. 7061. Cyzicus.
2. Dedication of a statue of Domitian by the archons A.D. 84. Le Bas 1069, *Berl. Sitzb.* 1889, 365 (1). Aboulliond.
3. Dedication to Hadrian, Olympian, Saviour and Founder. *Syllogos* VII. 173 (7). Cyzicus.
4. Similar. *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXII. 269 (3). Cyzicus.
5. Similar (on small column). *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 20 (12). Artaki.
6. Similar. Perrot I. 98 (59). Mihallitch.
7. Similar. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 309, Mendel 402. Melde.
8. Similar (small base). *J.H.S.* XVII. 270 (11). Aboulliond.
9. Similar. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 26 (18), *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 310 (3). Aboulliond.
10. (Latin) dedication to Hadrian, Olympian, Founder of the Colony. *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1842, 151, Le Bas 1750, *C.I.L.* III. 374. Karabogha.
11. Similar. *B.C.H.* XVII. 549 (see *C.I.L.* III. 374). Karabogha.
12. Dedication to Antoninus. Hamilton 329, Le Bas 1765, *R.E.G.* III. 68. Bigaditch.
13. Dedication to Antoninus, Dionysus, and Mystae[2]. Gedeon 101, pl. ii. 11. Prasteio.
14. Dedication of Cyzicenes and Roman residents to Tiberius (?)[3]. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 20 (11). Ermeni Keui.
15. Dedication of a statue of Augustus by Aristander Eumenis. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 19 (9), *Klio* V. 300. Cyzicus.

[1] Κορνήλιος Γαΐος, Κορνήλιος Ζωπύρου, Ζώπυρος Ζωπύρου, Ληναῖος Ληναίου Ποπλίου, Διονύσιος Λούκιος Ταναρου Ζοῦλος καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ Διογένους τῆς Εὐτύχου...υἱός.

[2] Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Αἰλ|ῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνείνῳ | Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ | καὶ θεῷ Διονύσῳ κ(αὶ) μυσταῖ[ς | Τ. Κλαύδιος Ῥοῦφος | ἀνέθηκε.

[3] Lolling curiously restores ἀνέθηκε]ν τῇ πόλει Ῥώμαι for οἱ é]ν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαῖ[οι.

16. Dedication of the city of Argiza to Valentinian. *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 904. *C.I.L.* III. 7084. Balia Bazar.

See also *C.I.A.* IV. 77 (dedication of Cyzicenes to Hadrian at Athens): and a statue of Hadrian from Cyzicus (*Tch. K. Sculp.* 46 (Goold 1) = *Gaz. Arch.* IX. 1884, 207, pl. 28 = Bernoulli *Icon. Rom.* II. 110 (20) = Reinach, *Repertoire* 580_5, cf. 579_6).

B. VARIOUS.

17. Achilles (C. Iulius), flute-player of Magnesia, victorious at Cyzicene Olympia, etc. *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 255 (26). Cyzicus.

18. Aphasius (Aur.) honoured by the city of Pericharaxis. *B.C.H.* XVIII. 541, *Ath. Mitth.* XX. 236, *A.-E. Mitth.* XVIII. 228. Balia Maden.

18†. Apollodorus Apollodori[1]. *B.C.H.* XVII. 548 (43). Stengel Keui.

19. Artemidorus Artemidori (grammateus). *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 305 (cf. *J.H.S.* XXV. 58), *Arch. Anz.* 1905, 56, Mendel 2. Kavak Keui.

20. Artemo Philetoris. *B.C.H.* XIV. 539 (4). Cyzicus.

20†. Asclepiades? (T. Flavius). *J.H.S.* XXVII. 64 (6). Melde.

20 A. Asclepiades Melidori: relief of sacrifice to Zeus dedicated by a thiasus in honour of A.[2] Conze *Lesbos* 62, pl. xviii., *B.C.H.* XXIII. 592 (bibliography). "Nicaea."

21. Caecina (A. Claudius, Pausanias), statue of, dedicated by Metrodorus[3]. *C.I.G.* 3680, Hamilton 316, *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 19. Cyzicus.

21†. Cornutus[4]. *J.H.S.* XVII. 268 (1), *B.S.A.* XIII. 299. Tachtali.

22. Corus (M. Aurelius), boy-athlete of Thyatira, victor at Cyzicene Olympia. *C.I.G.* 3674. Cyzicus.

23. Cotys (?) (S. Iulius). *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 40, see *J.H.S.* XXII. 131, XXIII. 91, *B.S.A.* XII. 177. Cyzicus.

Cretheus Hestiaei, see V. 85.

24. Cydicles (T. Marcius), dedicator of a statue of his (anonymous) uncle. *Tch. K. Sculp.* 85. Cyzicus.

Cyzicus, see VI. 13.

25. Doedalses (athlete victorious at Pergamon): stele, with metrical inscr., dedicated to Zeus in his honour. *Ath. Mitth.* XIV. 249 (19). Kermasti.

26. Euneos (Ti. Claudius)[5]. *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 254 (24). Yeni Keui.

27. Gratus (Plotius Aurelius, Asiarch), dedication of gladiators[6]. *C.I.G.* 3677. Cyzicus.

[1] Engraved on a stele apparently representing a sacrifice of an ox to Cybele, cf. III. 20 A, 32, 38 A.

[2] This stele and III. 38 A, both now in Athens (von Sybel 571 and 570), are closely connected by their reliefs with the Cyzicene series and by their formulae with III. 32 (Triglia): cf. Mordtmann in *Ath. Mitth.* X. 205.

[3] See Foreign Inscrr. (*Ilion*), and list of strategi. [4] Cf. below III. 35.

[5] See list of strategi. [6] Gladiators are also mentioned in V. 133.

28. Hippias Asclepiadae. Hamilton 318, Le Bas 1761, *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXIV. 107 (4). Eski Manyas.

Homer, see VI. 14.

29. Lysagoras Simi. *J.H.S.* XXII. 201 (5). Cyzicus.

30. Magnilla Magni, philosopher[1]. *J.H.S.* XVII. 269 (6). Aboulliond.

30†. Magnus (Cn. Pompeius). *J.H.S.* XXVII. 64 (6). Melde.

31. Maximus of Apamea, poet, winner at the Olympia, statue inscr. in elegiacs. *C.I.G.* 3672, Hamilton 313, Kaibel 881. Aidinjik.

32. Medeus Myrmecis; relief of Zeus dedicated in his honour by a thiasus. *B.C.H.* XVII. 345 (32), XXIII. 595 (2). Triglia.

33. Meleager Alcimachi. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 299. Eski Manyas.

34. Metrodorus (Aur.) of Cyzicus, pentathlete. *C.I.G.* 3676. Cyzicus.

35. Nestor, poet[2]: metrical inscr. from statue set up by Cornutus[3] in the precinct of Kore. *C.I.G.* 3671, Kaibel 882. Cyzicus.

36. Paulinus (Lucilius), limenarch. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 18 (6). Panderma.

Pausanias, see Caecina III. 31.

37. Pistus (qui et Gaius) pancratiast of Cyme, victor in Asiatic games. *C.I.G.* 3675. Cyzicus.

Pompeius, see III. 30†.

38. Secundus (C. Aelius), rhetor. *J.H.S.* XVII. 269. 5. Aboulliond.

38 A. Stratonice Meneclis: stele with relief of Cybele and Apollo set up in her honour by a thiasus[4]. Conze *Lesbos* 61, pl. xix., *B.C.H.* XXIII. 592. "Nicaea."

39. (Timosthenes (T. Flavius): base of statue erected by, in honour of anonymous person.) Le Bas 1070. Aboulliond.

40. Trophimus, victor in the Asclepiea. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 77 (8). Cyzicus.

41. Vettianus Vettii, xystarch of Miletupolis. *C.I.G.* 3673. Cyzicus.

42. Conclusion of statue inscr. in honour of a mystarch. *C.I.G.* 3678, Hamilton 306, *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 19 (10), *J.H.S.* XVII. 275 (25). Aidinjik.

43. Relief of wrestlers inscribed Διὸς ἀρήτῃ (*sic*). Le Bas 1764 *b*, Perrot I. 102 (65). Kermasti.

44. Fragment of agonistic inscription[5]. *J.H.S.* XXII. 201 (4). Cyzicus.

45. Similar. Le Bas 1071. Aboulliond.

46. Similar. Gedeon pl. iv. 23[6]. Marmara I.

47. Heading of honorary inscription. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 275. *J.H.S.* XXV. 61 (25). Gunen.

48. Inscription from statue of philosopher[7]. *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXIV. 108 (7), *J.H.S.* XXIV. 27, cf. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 299. Eski Manyas.

[1] Cf. III. 48 and V. 175 f.

[2] Laryandensis? so Kaibel. [3] Cf. above III. 21 f.

[4] The stone is now in Athens (von Sybel 570), cf. above III. 20 A, 32. The name occurs on V. 95 (Gunen).

[5] *νική]σαν[τα δ]ολι[χὸν] Ἐφε[σῆα.* [6] *Κυζικ[ηνὸ]ν Κεφαλ[ληνά ?]τε.*

[7] Cf. above III. 30 and Mendel 72.

49. Fragment of honorary inscription. *J.H.S.* XVII. 272 (12). Ulubad.
50. Fragment of inscribed statue-base. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 76 (6). Yeni Keui.
51. Honorary inscr. of an officer of Corbulo. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 64 (7). Kermasti.
52. Fragmentary honorary inscription. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 63 (4). Alpat Keui.
53. Base with wreath and worn inscription. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 65 (9). Yeni Manyas.

See also for other inscriptions of an honorary character the decrees I. 1—10, 13, 18, 19, 24, and V. 20 A, and the Supplement of Foreign Inscrr.

Victors in the games are also mentioned in V. 17, 87, 93, 188. Reliefs of charioteers from Cyzicus *Tch. K. Sculp.* 135 = *B.C.H.* XVIII. 493*, *Arch. Anz.* 1905, 65 = Mendel 1.

CLASS IV. VOTIVE AND RELIGIOUS.

(*a*) Kore and Demeter.
(*b*) Cybele.
(*c*) Zeus, Asklepios, Serapis.
(*d*) Apollo and Artemis.
(*e*) Dionysus, Poseidon, Aphrodite.
(*f*) Athena, Hermes, Pan, Heracles, etc.
(Imperial dedications are classed as honorary in Class III.)

(*a*) KORE AND DEMETER.

See inscr. III. 29 (temenos of Kore): I. 9 (Priestess of Kore and Demeter): IV. 84 (Priest of Kore): I. 24, IV. 65 (of K. Soteira): I. 24 (Great Mysteries of K. Soteira): IV. 81 (Δεσποναι?): VI. 24 (Θεαὶ): VI. 28†† (epigram from altar): *B.S.A.* VIII. 193, pl. V. (Statue of Kore?): Inscr. I. 3 (relief of head of Kore): *Tch. K. Sculp.* 131 (relief of Demeter in serpent chariot).

(*b*) CYBELE.

1. Stele dedicated to Dyndymene (*sic*) and Zeus in the hipparchate of Hestiaeus. *B.C.H.* XII. 187 (1). Artaki.
2. Dedication to Kotyana. *B.C.H.* XVII. 520 (33). Aidinjik.
3. Dedication of Soterides to Ko[tyana?] in the hipparchate of Bulides. *C.I.G.* 3668, *Louvre Marb.* 2850, Dittenberger *Syll.*$_2$ 348. *A.-E. Mitth.* XX. 74[1]. Cyzicus.
4. Dedication to Tolupiane by the dioecetes and corporation of a village-district in the hipparchate of Aristagoras. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 203 (29). *Tch. K. Sculp.*[2] 117. Debleki.

[1] The relief is figured in Clarac 214, pl. 256, Daremberg s.v. *Arbre.*
[2] Above p. 217, fig. 19.

5. Dedication to Andiris with relief of A. and Hermes Cadmilus[1]. *J.H.S.* XXII. 190 (1)*. Cyzicus.
6. Fragment of stele inscribed to ?Andi]rene. *J.H.S.* XXV. 60 (20). Boghaz Keui.
7. Stele with relief of Cybele and fragmentary inscription. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 86 (28). Aidinjik.

See further: Inscrr. I. 8, 9 (Placiane), III. 32A, 38A, IV. 70 (reliefs of Cybele and Apollo): uninscribed reliefs (1) of Cybele (*Rev. Arch.* XVII. 1891, 12 (5), (6), cf. *B.M. Sculp.* I. 782): (2) of Cybele, Zeus, Hermes and Curetes, *Ath. Mitth.* XVI. 191*, *B.C.H.* XXIII. 592 (6) and pl. vii. For Attis Monuments see below, p. 278.

(*c*) ZEUS, ASKLEPIOS, SERAPIS, ETC.

8. Dedication of Otacilii to Z. Crampsenus. *Ath. Mitth.* XIV. 90, *B.C.H.* XVIII. 541, *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 902, see *J.H.S.* XXI. 293 (73) note. Balia Maden.
9. Similar of Theudamus Gallionis. *J.H.S.* XXI. 293 (73). Balia Maden.
10. Dedication of Pauseros to Z. Hypsistos. Le Bas 1067. Aboulliond.
11. Dedication of Sogenes? to Z. Hypsistos. *J.H.S.* XXII. 207 (14). Cyzicus.
12. Stele with two reliefs dedicated by Syntrophus to Z. Hypsistos Brontaios. Le Bas 1099 (*Mon. Fig.* 133*) p. 115, *Rev. Phil.* I. 38, *Ath. Mitth.* IV. 21, *Tch. K. Sculp.* 126. Mihallitch.

12†. Dedication of the sons of Protomachus to Z. Brontaios. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 66 (12). Tchakyrdja.

13. Stele with reliefs of (*a*) Zeus, Artemis, and Apollo, (*b*) religious banquet, dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos and the χῶρος. *B.C.H.* XIII. 592, pl. v., *Rev. Arch. III S.* XVII. 10, *B.C.H.* XVII. 193, *B. M. Sculp.* I. 817, *Ath. Mitth.* XXX. 444—6, cf. Ziebarth, *Gr. Vereinsw.*, 66. Panderma.
14. Dedication of Pescennius Onesimus to the θεὸς ὕψιστος. *C.I.G.* 3669. Panderma.
15. Small relief of an ox dedicated to θεὸς ὕψιστος[2]. *B.C.H.* XVII. 523 (7). Panderma.

15†. Dedication to 'the god' κατ' ἐπιταγήν. *Ath. Mitth.* XXX. 412. Aboulliond.

16. Relief of eagle dedicated to θεὸς ὕψιστος[3]. *J.H.S.* XVII. 270 (10). Aboulliond.

[1] In l. 2 I should prefer ὑπὲρ Γάμου (or γάμου) for Περγάμου, in l. 1 perhaps τὸ ὅπ]λον, the dedicator's name having been lost with the lower part of the stele.

[2] Δ](ιὶ) (or) θ](ε)[ῷ ὑψί](στ)ῳ εὐχήν.

[3] Munro restores τῆς θε[οῦ εὐ]χὴν, but the eagle surely determines the dedication. Possibly ...ων παστὴς (an embroiderer? cf. Ramsay *Phryg.* i. 1, 41) θε[ῷ ὑψίστῳ εὐ]χήν.

16†. Stele dedicated by Evodion to Z. Olbios. *B.C.H.* XXXII. 520, pll. v., vi. Kavak.

17. Altar dedicated to Zeus Olbios. *J.H.S.* XXV. 56 (64). Nr. Gunen[1].

18. Dedication of Q. Longinus to *θεὸς ὄλβιος*. *J.H.S.* XXV. 56 (2). Nr. Gunen.

19. Similar of Heraclides. *J.H.S.* XXV. 56 (1). Nr. Gunen.

20. Altar dedicated to *θεὸς ὄλβιος*. *J.H.S.* XXV. 57 (6). Nr. Gunen.

21. Relief of Zeus dedicated by sons of Attalus. *J.H.S.* XXV. 56 (5). Nr. Gunen.

22. Dedication of Theseus to Z. Megas. *B.C.H.* XVII. 548 (40). Dimetoka.

23. Relief dedicated by the Thracian village to Zeus Chalazios Sozon in the hipparchate of Dionysius. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 21 (4), cf. XXVI. 29. Mahmun Keui (?).

24. Dedication of Heracleote sailors to Z. Orneos[2]. Gedeon, pl. iv. 30. Halone.

25. Altar of Z. Soter. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 280. Ilidja.

26. Dedication of ...nes Midiae to Z. Soter and Heracles. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 301. Omar Keui.

27. Relief of Zeus dedicated by Onesimus. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 80 (19). Panderma.

28. Stele with relief of Zeus dedicated in the hipparchate of Drusus Caesar. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 28 (28), cf. XXV. 60. Hodja Bunar.

29. Similar stele dedicated by Varius Phrixus Pollio. *J.H.S.* XXVI. 28 (6). Panderma.

30. Stele with relief of Zeus and inscription recording the contributions of a religious society. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 58 (3), *Rev. Arch.* III. s. XVII. 2, *B.M. Sculp.* III. 2151. Sari Keui.

See also Inscr. IV. 1 (Zeus and Dyndymene), note on Cybele (Zeus, Cybele, Hermes), reliefs of nos. III. 20 A, 25, 32, 43, and below IV. 31, 83.

31. Dedication by Aelius Aristides of a statue of Hera in the temple of Zeus. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 280. Balukiser.

32. Fragment of relief dedicated to Asklepios. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 79 (14). Panderma.

33. Dedication of Primigenes to Asklepios. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 273. Balia Bazar.

See also I. 10 (Temple of A. and Apollo), III. 40 (*μεγάλα Ἀσκληπιεῖα*) and Goold 87 (statue of Hygieia in Tchinily Kiosk).

34. Dedication of *therapeutae* to Serapis and Isis. *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXVII. 237. Cyzicus.

35. Similar (the names missing). *Syllogos* VII. 173 (6). Ermeni Keui.

36. Hymn to Serapis and Isis. *Rev. Arch.* XXXII. 271 (5). Cyzicus.

[1] i.e. Kavak? so probably Nos. 18—21.

[2] Δι(ὶ) Ὀρνέῳ εὐχα|ριστοῦμεν να|ῦται Ἡρακλ[ε|ῶτα[ι.

37. Dedication of Lygdamis to Isis. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 18 (5). Cyzicus.
38. Dedication of Apollodorus to I. Karpophoros. *B.C.H.* XII. 194 (4). Hammamli M.

See also relief (V. 214) and terracotta published in *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXVII. 257, Goold 13 = *Tch. K. Sculp.* 71 (bust of Z. Serapis from Cyzicus).

(*d*) APOLLO AND ARTEMIS.

39. Dedication of Asclepias to Apollo. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 18 (4). Cyzicus.
39 A. Relief of horseman, tree, and snake dedicated by Aur. Domitius to Apollo. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 209 (34). Cyzicus (?)[1].
40. Relief representing a naval battle[2] dedicated to Apollo (?)[3] Kaseos in the hipparchate of Demetrius Lysiclis[4]. *B.C.H.* XII. 188 (2). Ulubad.
41. Relief dedicated by Andromachus to A. Krateanos. *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, 162 (5), *A.-E. Mitth.* XIX. 59, *Rev. Phil.* 1898, 164 (4), *R.E.G.* 1906, 305 (e). Nr. Manyas.
42. Do., dedicated by Apollodorus. *Arch. Zeit.* l.c. (3). *A.-E. Mitth.* l.c., *Rev. Phil.* l.c. 163 (3), *R.E.G.* l.c. (c). Nr. Manyas.
43. Do., dedicated by Glaucias. *Arch. Zeit.* l.c. (6), *A.-E. Mitth.* l.c., *Rev. Phil.* l.c. (6), *R.E.G.* l.c. (d), *Ath. Mitth.* XXX. 329*. Nr. Manyas.
44. Do., dedicated by Menophilus Aulozelmeos. *Arch. Zeit.* l.c. (4), *A.-E. Mitth.* l.c., Benndorf *Lykien* 154*, *Rev. Phil.* l.c. (6), *R.E.G.* l.c. (d). Nr. Manyas.
45. Do., dedicated by Metrophanes. *Arch. Zeit.* l.c. (1), *A.-E. Mitth.* l.c., *Rev. Phil.* l.c. (1), *R.E.G.* l.c. (a). Nr. Manyas.
46. Do., dedicated by Theagenes. *Arch. Zeit.* l.c. (2), *A.-E. Mitth.* l.c., *Rev. Phil.* l.c. (2), *R.E.G.* l.c. 304 (b). Nr. Manyas.
47. Similar dedicated by Meander. *Bull. Soc. Ant.* 1873, 55, *Bull. des Ant.* 1893, 184, *Louvre Marb.* 2864. Nr. Manyas.
48. Do., dedicated by Menodotus. *Bull. Soc. Ant.* l.c., *Bull. des Ant.* l.c., *Louvre Marb.* 2865. Nr. Manyas.
49. Dedication of Apollodorus to A. Krateanos. Ἀθηνᾶ VI. 470*, *B.C.H.* XVII. 521 (2), *Rev. Phil.* 1898, 164 (9). Panderma.
50. Do., of Medeus and Diodorus. *Syllogos* VIII. 172, *J.H.S.* XXIII. 87 (39), *R.E.G.* 1906, 305 (g). Cyzicus[5].
51. Relief dedicated to Apollo Mekastenos. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 20 (1). Cyzicus[5].
52. Relief dedicated by Asclepiodotus to A. Tadokomites. *Rev. Arch. III.S.* XVIII. 10 (3), *B.M. Sculp.* I. 777. Cyzicus.

[1] The provenance is doubtful, cf. note on V. 9 A.

[2] Relief resembles Le Bas-Reinach *Mon. Fig.* pl. 131.

[3] See above p. 232.

[4] For formula of inscr. cf. Le Bas, 1766.

[5] Nos. 50 and 51 were brought by Dr Long from Cyzicus (Panderma?) and are now in the Museum of Robert College.

53. Relief dedicated by Heliodorus to Apollo. *J.H.S.* XXV. 61 (1). Panderma.

54. Relief of sacrifice to Apollo with fragmentary inscr. *J.H.S.* XXV. 58 (13). Susurlu.

55. Dedication of Timotheus to Helios[1]. Gedeon pl. iii. 20. Marmara.

56. Relief of Helios. *J.H.S.* XXV. 56 (3). Nr. Gunen.

See also *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. p. 291, fig. 24* (Colossal head of Helios at Panderma) and Inscr. I. 13 (Gaius Caesar the new Helios).

56†. Relief of sacrifice to Apollo dedicated by Timochares. *B.C.H.* XVII. 548 (42). Bighashehr.

56 A. Stele with relief of sacrifice to Apollo dedicated by Menophanes to Apollo and Artemis. *Tch. K. Sculp.* 131 [189]. (Unknown[2].)

57. Stele with relief of sacrifice to Apollo and Artemis dedicated by twelve persons. The (round) pediment is occupied by a 'religious banquet' scene. *C.I.G.* 3699, *Syllogos* VII. 171 (5). *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 25 (26). Panderma.

58. Dedication to Artemis by Glycon. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 209 (31). Ermeni Keui.

59. Dedication of relief of Artemis and Apollo to Artemis Pediane. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 34 (51). Peramo.

60. Dedication to Artemis Sebaste Baiiane (Iulia Titi?) of temple and baths[3] by an imperial freedman. *C.I.G.* 3195*e*. Boyuk Tepe Keui.

61. Dedication to *θεὰ φωσφόρος*. *C.I.G.* 3167, *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 63 (8). Porto Paleo.

62. Relief of Hecate dedicated by Asclepas. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 86 (38). Sari Keui.

63. Dedication of 'the ears(?) and the altar' to Artemis(?). *J.H.S.* XVII. 270 (8), *B.C.H.* XXV. 326 (4). Aboulliond.

See also Inscrr. III. 38 A, IV. 70 (reliefs of Apollo and Cybele), IV. 74 (Hermes and Apollo), I. 10 (temple of Asklepios and Apollo), IV. 13 (Artemis and Apollo with Zeus), I. 8, 9 (Artemis Munychia), I. 2, cf. Foreign inscrr. *Miletus* (Cyzicus and Milesian Apollo), VI. 38 (Artemis Ephesia), and *J.H.S.* XXIII. 88* (relief of Apollo Citharoedus), Perrot II. pl. iv. = *Louvre Marb.* 2849 (do. of Artemis Hecate), *B.C.H.* XVII. 548 (43), (do. of sacrifice to Artemis and Apollo?), *Rev. Arch.* III. s. XXV. 282—4, pll. xvii. xviii. (Artemis head at Dresden).

[1] *Ἡλίῳ Τειμόθεος | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας | ἑαυτοῦ εὐχὴν ἀνέ|θηκα.*

[2] Probably from the Cyzicene area, cf. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 87. My copy reads *Θεοφάνης Θεοδ... | Μηνοδώρου ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν (τέκ)[νων | Ἀπόλλωνι Προκέντῃ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι χαριστήριον.*

[3] For the connection cf. Artemis Thermaia of Gunen.

(*e*) DIONYSUS, POSEIDON, APHRODITE, ETC.

64. Stele with relief of sacrifice dedicated by Demetrius to Dionysus Attudenus. Le Bas 1100, *Mon. Fig.* p. 113, pl. 133, *Tch. K. Sculp.* 119, cf. Perrot I. 101. Mihallitch.

64†. Dedication of Aur. Sophronius to θεὸς ἐπήκοος Διόνυσος Κεβρήνιος. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 65 (8). Yalichiftlik.

65. Dedication to Dionysus by priest of Kore. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 17 (3). Panderma.

66. Dedication to Dionysus. *J.H.S.* XXV. 57 (7). Nr. Gunen.

See also Inscrr. III. 13 (dedication to Antoninus, Dionysus, and Mystae), IV. 85 (Βάκχοι Κυνοσουρεῖται), V. 15 (Βρομίου μύστης): and the Cyzicene monuments, *Tch. K. Sculp.* 130 (Bacchic frieze)[2], Reinach *Répertoire* I. 117 (5) (Colossal head of Dionysus), 141 (2) (do. of Satyr), II. 471 (Jakobsen head of Attis), Mendel 8 (torso of Attis).

67. Dedication of altar to Poseidon. *Syllogos* VII. 171 (1), *J.H.S.* XXVI. 28. Hadji Pagon (?).

68. Dedication of Bacchius to Poseidon Asphaleius. *R.E.G.* VII. 45, *B.C.H.* XVII. 453 (2), Dittenberger *Syll.*$_2$ 543. Cyzicus.

69. Dedication of base (and statue) by Antonia Tryphaena to Poseidon Isthmius, (*a*) prose, and (*b*) verse. *J.H.S.* XXII. 126, XXIII. 91. Cyzicus.

70. Dedication of stele (with reliefs of Cybele and Apollo) to Poseidon and Aphrodite Pontia by a merchants' guild in the hipparchate of Menestheus. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 204 (30). Cyzicus.

71. Fragmentary inscr. mentioning temple of Aphrodite. *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 255 (27), *Syllogos* Παράρτ. τοῦ ιγ' τόμου, 18. Mihaniona.

See also Foreign Inscrr., Delphi (I.), (P. Asphaleius); and Reinach *Répertoire* 30. 5 = *B.M. Sculp.* III. 1538 (statue of Poseidon?).

Inscr. II. 3 (priest of Aphrodite), I. 13 (Aphrodite Drusilla); and Reinach, *l.c.* 3. 1036 (Statue of Aphrodite), *Monatsb. f. Kunstwiss.* I. pl. i. (Bronze statuette of A.).

(*f*) ATHENA, HERMES, PAN, HERACLES, ETC.

72. Altar inscribed Ἀθηνᾶς. Perrot I. 102 (64). Kermasti.

See also Inscr. I. 12 (Athena Polias Nikephoros, Panathenaea), cf. VI. 13.

73. Dedication of Persicrates Hegesagorae to Hermes[1]. Gedeon, 36, pl. i. 6. Pasha Liman.

74. Dedication of Asclepiodorus to Hermes and Apollo. *C.I.G.* 3568. Bigaditch.

75. Stele of Hermes Ἐλεοπώλης. *B.C.H.* XVII. 528 (21). Artaki.

See also Inscr. III. 19 (Hermes dedicated at Miletupolis), IV. 5 (Relief of Hermes and Andiris), note on Cybele (Hermes, Cybele, and Zeus) and VI. 37.

For Pan, see Inscr. I. 2, and cf. I. 4.

[1] Περσικράτης | Ἡγησαγόρε[ω. | Ἑρμῆι.

[2] See also *Jahrb.* 1888, 296, pl. IX. 29, *Jahresh.* 1910, 154 (Group of Satyr and Nymph).

76. Dedication of relief to Heracles by strategi and phylarchs in the hipparchate of Phoenix. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 200 (28), *R.E.G.* VI. 13, *Tch. K. Sculp.* 125, Michel 1224, *J.H.S.* XXII. 199, cf. XXI. 201. Cyzicus. See also *B.S.A.* VIII. 190, pl. iv. (archaic relief), *Arch. Zeit.* 1851, 306, pl. xxvii (Vase).

77. Dedication of Asclas to river Enbeilus. *C.I.G.* 3699. Panderma.

78. Similar of Herennius Priscus. *J.H.S.* XXV. 60 (22). Alexa.

79. Dedication of Olympus to the Hero. Ξενοφάνης I. 327 (2), *B.C.H.* XXIV. 874 (14). Kalolimno.

80. Dedication to ... Hellenia. *C.I.G.* 3670. Cyzicus.

81. Fragment of marble patera with votive inscription δεσπόνησιν. Chandler XI. 15, *C.I.G.* 3695, Roehl 501. Cyzicus.

82. Votive relief dedicated by Democharès[1] (?) in the hipparchate of Eumenes Aristandri. *C.I.G.* 3695 (*b*), *Klio* V. 301. Gunen.

83. Stele dedicated by Apollonius Deiaptianos (?)[2] κατ' ἐπιταγήν. *Louvre Marb.* 2851 (*Inscrr.* 11), *Bull. Arch. de l'Ath. Fr.* 1855, 60 (5). Cyzicus.

84. Dedication of statue of Homonoia by Fl. Aristagoras priest of Kore. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 130 (15). Aidinjik.

85. Dedication of *cancelli* by Auxanon τραπεζίτης τῆς πόλεως. *C.I.G.* 3679, *Berl. Monatsb.* 1874, 2 (1). Cyzicus.

86. Votive inscription of S. Fulvius Atticus θεοῖς. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 19 (7). Cyzicus.

87. Dedication of Artemus. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 25 (13). Ulubad.

88. Relief dedicated by a religious society in the hipparchate of L. Vettius Rufus. *B.C.H.* XII. 195 (5). Hammamli M.

89. Relief of religious banquet dedicated by a thiasus. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 36 (57). Yenije K. D.

For Religious Societies see also Inscrr. IV. 85 (Βάκχοι Κυνοσουρεῖται), IV. 35, 36 (θεραπευταὶ), III. 20 A, 32, 38 A (θιασεῖται), V. 192 (συμμύσται), III. 13, etc. (μύσται), V. 15 (Βρομίου μύστης): cf. also II. 15, IV. 13, 30, 88, 89.

90. Fragmentary dedication. Gedeon pl. ii. 19. Marmara I.

91. Fragmentary inscr. relating to priests and sales. *B.C.H.* XVII. 526 (20). Aphthone.

92. Worn inscr. of 35 lines perhaps relating to a cure at the local thermae. *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 919. Ilidja.

93. Fragment mentioning ἄσυλον. Ξενοφάνης, I. 329 (10). Kalolimno. Altar possibly votive, see V. 78.

[1] For the (restored) name cf. Inscr. III. 17. The stele was probably dedicated to Apollo and Artemis.

[2] The name of Zeus and an epithet are probably disguised in this extraordinary word.

CLASS V. SEPULCHRAL[1].

(a) PAGAN.

1. Abascantus. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 31 (36). Langada.
2. Accịs Cleophontis. R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 596 (36). Elbislik.
3. Achillas (Scribonius). S.T. *C.I.G.* 3688. Artaki.
4. Agatharchus Heraclidae. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 34 (50). Peramo.
5. Aglaïs (P. Aelius). Y. *B.C.H.* XVII. 523 (9). Panderma.
6. Alexander (Alexandreus). B-R.M. *B.C.H.* XVII. 532 (34). Aidinjik.
7. Alexander Leonidae. R.T. Perrot I. 101*. *Ath. Mitth.* XIV. 251. *J.H.S.* XVII. 277 (28). Kermasti.
8. Alexander. Y. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 87. Artaki.
9. Alexander, Y.T. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 305. Kavakli.

9A. Alexander (Aurelius). *Tch. K.* 123 (185). "Cyzicus."[2]

10. Algoumis Moschiani[3]. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 269. Balukiser.
11. Amarantus (Ulpius). C.Y. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 28 (27). Hodja Bunar.
12. Ambrosius (Silius). *C.I.G.* 3691[4]. Artaki.
13. Ammia. *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 900 (4). Balukiser.
14. Andr...dori. *J.H.S.* XXVI. 25 (1). Alexa.
15. Andromache. R. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 22 (17). Cyzicus.
16. Andronicus Onesimus. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 316, XXX. 446. Nusrat.
17. Anicetus Euhemeri. Y. *J.HS.* XXV. 59 (18), *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 300. Assar Alan.
18. Anniani Nicomedensis filia. Hamilton 322, Le Bas 1768. Kebsud.
19. Antheus Gauri. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 310 (2). Aboulliond.
20. Antigone[5]. S. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 85 (35). Yappaji Keui.
21. Antoniniane (?). Le Bas 1079. Aboulliond.

21†. Apantis. *Bull. Soc. Ant.* 1883, 218. Cyzicus.

22. Aphrodisia. D. Hamilton 323, Le Bas 1769. *Syllogos*, Παράρτ. τοῦ ιε' τόμου 64 (4). Kebsud.

[1] These are arranged as far as possible alphabetically by the names of the deceased, failing them by such names as occur; fragments which contain no name are placed at the end of each division. Christian inscriptions are grouped separately. The character of the monument is roughly shewn by the following initials: C=Cippus, R=relief (B-R=Banquet relief), S=sarcophagus; the character of the inscription is shewn by the initials Υ=ὑπόμνημα, Θ=θέσις, M=metrical, T=Threat, D=Date.

[2] The old management of the Museum is said (*Ath. Mitth.* VI. 134) to have assigned all objects of unknown provenance to Cyzicus or Salonica. This stone is really from Heraclea Perinthus, see Θρακικὴ Ἐπετηρίς I. 1897, 13.

[3] The stone also bears a previous inscription of Apollonius.

[4] The two fragments seen by Pococke have been republished as new (*a*) in *B.C.H.* XVII. 528 (22), (*b*) in *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 25 (30).

[5] The name is written *Andigone* as if the writer were more accustomed to the Latin values of the letters.

23. Apollinarius. S. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 38. Yenije.
24. Apollodorus (Aurelius). C.R.Y. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 84 (34)*. Cyzicus.
25. Apollodorus Thyrsi. M. (Unpublished.)[1] Aksakal.
26. Apollonides. M. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 123 (5), *Rev. Phil.* 1898, 256. Cyzicus.
26 A. Apollonides Asclepiadae. B-R. Le Bas 1534, *A.-E. Mitth.* XX. 73, *Berlin Cat. Sculp.* 835. Smyrna[2].
27. Apollonides Asclepiadae. *B.C.H.* XVII. 533 (35). Aidinjik.
28. Apollonis. R. *Ath. Mitth.* XV. 342, *B.C.H.* XVII. 544 (29). Triglia
29. Apollonis Praxiae. *J.H.S.* XXVI. 298 (8). Aboulliond.
30. Apollonius Diogenis. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 20 (2). Panderma.
31. Apollonius Idomeneos[3]. Gedeon pl. iii. 17. Prasteio.
32. Apollonius Theonis (and two others). B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 27 (23). Ergileh.
33. Apollonius (Claudius). R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 76 (5). Yeni Keui.
Apollonius, see Algoumis V. 10.
34. Apol[lonius ?] Ascle[pae ?]. R. *J.H.S.* XVII. 270 (9). Aboulliond.
35. Apphion (Aurelius). *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 901. Bigaditch.
36. Apsyrtus Logismi. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 337 n. Chinar Bunar Kaleh.
37. Aquinus Pollianus Augustianus. B-R.Y. *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 254 (25). Cyzicus.
38. Archippus Archestrati. R. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 201 (13). Panderma.
39. Aria (Iulia). R. *C.I.G.* 3692. Cyzicus.
40. Aristides. R. *Ath. Mitth.* XV. 342, *B.C.H.* XVII. 545 (31). Triglia.
41. Aristides (Aurelius). Y. *J.H.S.* XXV. 62 (b). Mihallitch.
42. Ariston Aristi? R.Y. *Ath. Mitth.* XVI. 144, *B.C.H.* XVII. 547 (38). Gunen.
43. Arius Artemonis. R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 522 (4). Panderma.
44. Arius Cer(y)cionis. R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 82 (25). Aidinjik.
44†. Artemeis Antipatri. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 66 (14). Pomak Keui.
45. Artemidorus Artemidori. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 40 (65). Hadji Pagon.
46. Artemidorus (G. Claudius Galicianus). Y. *Syllogos* VII. 171 (3). Panderma.
47. Artemon Menecratis. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 27 (21). Ergileh.
48. Artemon Hermae. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 24 (11). Mihallitch.
49. Artemon Artemonis qui et Scymnus. Y. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 84 (34). Yappaji Keui.
50. Ascl]apon Asclepiadae. *B.P.W.* 1892, 707 (2). Sazli Déré.
51. Asclas et Apollonius Dêi[4]. B-R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 525 (17). Gunen.

[1] I have these particulars from M. Th. Makris of Panderma. The stone is said to be in Brusa, so it seems worth while to record its true provenance.

[2] Le Bas saw this inscription in Spiegelthal's possession with V. 173 A (q. v.), and the *Zeleitae* and Syceni are mentioned in it.

[3] Ἀπ[ο]λλώνι[ϵ] | Ἰδομενέως | χαῖρϵ.

[4] l. 2 τ]ὼ Δήου ?

52. Asclepas Menandri. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 27 (24). Ergileh
53. Asclepas Metrodori. Le Bas 1101. Mihallitch.
54. Asclepiades. Hamilton 231, Le Bas 1764, *Rev. Arch. N. S.* XXXIV. 106 (1). Eski Manyas.
55. (*a*) Asclepiades and Ammia. T.D. (*b*) Meidias Asclepiadae M. Hamilton 324–5, Le Bas 1771. *Syllogos*, Παράρτ. τοῦ ιε' τόμου 63 (3): (*b*) only in *Rh. Mus.* XL. 250 (26), Kaibel 340, *J.H.S.* XXI. 291 (69), *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 312 f. Kebsud.
56. Asclepiades Miletopolites. M. *B.C.H.* XXV. 426 (4). Kermasti.
57. Asclepiades (Aurelius). S. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 35 (54). Kurshunlu.
58. Asclepiadae (family). T. *B.C.H.* XVII. 547 (37). Aivalu Déré.
59. Asclepias Asclepiadae Pergamena. R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 81 (23)*. Aidinjik.
60. Asprus (Remigius). *B.C.H.* XII. 192 (3). Mihallitch.
61. Athenaeus. Le Bas 1073. Aboulliond.
62. Attalus Asclepiodori. B-R. *Louvre Inscrr.* 170*, *Marbres* 2854, *Bull. Arch. de l' Ath. Fr.* 1855, 60 (1), *Jahresh. Oest. Inst.* XI. 191*. Cyzicus.
63. Attinas Menophili. S.Y. *J.H.S.* XXV. 57 (9). Mahmun Keui.
64. Auas? Myrrhinae[1]. Gedeon 89, pl. i. 8. Marmara.
65. Aviania, P.[2] *Ath. Mitth.* XIV. 248 (17). Kermasti.
66. Bargus (Vedius). *C.I.G.* 3683. Cyzicus.
67. Bassus (family tomb). *Ath. Mitth.* XV. 15 (6). Eskil Keui.
68. Bassus (L. Iulius and family). Y. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 22 (19). Aidinjik.
69. Bûs. M. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 297. Debleki.
70. Callisthenes Callisthenis. C.Y. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 28 (29). Sari Keui.
71. Callisto. T. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 22 (18). Cyzicus.
72. Campter Apollonii. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 81 (22). Aidinjik.
73. Carpus and Apollonius. *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 900. Balukiser.
74. Catulla Lucilla. *B.C.H.* XVII. 550 (46). Karabogha.
75. ...ches (Eutyches?). *J.H.S.* XXI. 233. Kebsud.
76. Chrestus Numisii Nicomedensis[3]. Gedeon, pl. iv. 24. Marmara I.
77. Chrysampelos Laodiceus. M. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 128, 11. Cyzicus.
78. Chrysochoüs. M. *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 900 (1). Chaoush Keui.
79. Cleander. T. *Berl. Monatsb.* 1860, 495 (2), *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 253 (20). Ermeni Keui.
80. Cleon Tlepolemi. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 31 (38). Langada.
81. Cleopatra (Servilia). *R.E.G.* V. 509 (4). Susurlu.
82. Codrus (P. Annaeus[4]). T. Le Bas 1078. Nr. Aboulliond.
82†. Corallion. Μουσ. κ. Βιβλ. I. 112 δ'. Balukiser.
83. Cornelia[5]. Ξενοφάνης I. 329 (11), *B.C.H.* XXIV. 375 (19). Kalolimno.

[1] Αὔας· Μυρίνης | αττη ὁ ἀνὴρ |s 'Επάγαθος: l. 2 ὁ ἀνὴρ α(ὐ)τῆς?
[2] l. 1 ὑπόμνημα? l. 2 θυγατρὸς ὁ ἐποίησαν.
[3] Χ]ρηστὸς Νουμισ[ί|ου Νεικομηδ[εὺς | ἐτῶν μα'.
[4] Cf. below V. 163.
[5] l. 1 Νίκα(ν)[δρος Π]ανταγάθου? l. 7 τι]s τυνβόρυχος?

84. Cornelii (family tomb) with bilingual inscr. *C.I.G.* 3789, *C.I.L.* 372. Nr. Aidinjik.
85. Cretheus Hestiaei. *J.H.S.* XXII. 193 (2). Cyzicus.
86. Crispina (Secunda). R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 81 (24). Aidinjik.
87. Crispinus (Ravennas). R.M. *C.I.G.* 3694, Welcker 337, Kaibel 337. Cyzicus.
88. Crispus (Q. Calvinus). *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 919. Ilidja.
89. Crispus (Otacilius). S. *B.C.H.* XVII. 545 (19). *Syllogos*, Παράρτ. τοῦ κ'—κβ' τόμου, 14. *Ath. Mitth.* XXXIV. 401. Palatia.
90. Ctesias Bianoridae Athenaeus. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 36 (57). Yenije.
91. ...Cyzicenus. R. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 27 (30). Katatopo.
92. Damianus. S. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 211 (40). Kurshunlu.
93. Danaus (boxer). B-R.M. Hamilton 311, Le Bas 1757, *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 130 (6), *Rev. Arch.* III. (1846) 84, pl. 46. Aidinjik[1].
94. Daphnis. *C.I.G.* 3654 *h*, *B.P.W.* 1897, 707 (4). Bighashehr.
95. Demetrius and Stratonice Meneclis and two others. B-R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 525 (18), Mendel 66*. Gunen.
96. Demetrius Menodori. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 75 (1), Mendel 58. Cyzicus.
97. Demetrius Menophanis. B-R. *Louvre Inscrr.* 183, *Marbres* 2856, *Bull. Arch. de l'Ath. Fr.* 1855, 60 (3). Cyzicus.
98. Demetrius Xenonis. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 28 (26). Hodja Bunar.
99. Demetrius...*μα*...*νίου*. *C.I.G.* 3695 *d*. Gunen.
100. Democr[itus?] (Claudius). T. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 32 (43). Kalami.
101. Demopolis Demopoleos. Le Bas 1087. Aboulliond.
102. Diitrephes Hippiae. *J.H.S.* XXV. 57. Ermeni Keui.
103. Diocleia and Sympheron. Y. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 23 (20), Stark 376 (12). Cyzicus.
104. Diodorus. *C.I.G.* 3697. Marmara.
105. Diodorus and Embilus Dai. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 33 (49). Mihaniona.
Diognetus, see V. 111.
106. Dion. *C.I.G.* 3568. Bigaditch.
107. Dionysius qui et Unio. M. *C.I.G.* 3685, Welcker *Syll.* 46, Kaibel 339 (Caylus, pl. lxxv*). Cyzicus.
108. Dionysius Candionis and three others. R. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 207 (37). Cyzicus.
109. Dionysius Dionysii. R. Conze *Gr. Grabr.* p. 15, pl. ii* (Calvert Collection). Cyzicus.
110. Diognius Diogneti Athenaei. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 209 (35). Cyzicus.
111. Dionysodorus Pytheae. R.M. *C.I.G.* 3684, *Rh. Mus.* 1886, 346, *B.M. Sculp.* I. 736. Cyzicus.
112. Doryphorus and two others. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 124 (6).
113.
114. Elcacius (?). *C.I.G.* 3654 *g*. Karabogha.

[1] Now in the Imperial Museum at Vienna.

114†. Elpis (Gellia Tertia) and family. R. Ξενοφάνης I. 332. Syge.
115. Epaphroditus. *J.H.S.* XXII. 201 (6). Cyzicus.
116. Epaphroditus Hermioneus. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 39 (64), Mendel 415, Cyzicus.
117. ...Epaphroditi. *B.C.H.* XVII. 533 (38). Aidinjik.
118. Epheseis Ephesii. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 26 (20). Ergileh.
119. Epigone (Plotia). Y. *J.H.S.* XXII. 203 (8). Yeni Keui.
120. Epigonus Epigoni. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 310 (4). Aboulliond.
121. ...er,...oeus. Hamilton 327, Le Bas 1772. Kebsud.
122. Eros[1]. Gedeon, pl. i. 15. Marmara I.
123. Erycia[2] (Iulia). B-R. Le Bas 1105, Perrot I. 99. Mihallitch.
124. Euarestus. *J.H.S.* XXV. 58. Nr. Kermasti.
125. Eubulus Theophili. Gerlach, p. 257, *J.H.S.* XXVII. 67 (15). Chatal Aghil.
126. Eucarpia. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 46 (67). Hammamli M.
127. Euethius πρωτοκωμήτης. *J.H.S.* XVIII. 272 (70). Kebsud.
128. Eugnomon. D. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 215. Bey Keui.
129. Eumenes Olympi. R. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 20 (15), XXIX. 289*. Panderma.
130. Euopus (Antonius) and family. S.Y. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 32 (42), *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 296. Kalami.
131. Euphemus Midiae. *J.H.S.* XVII. 275 (23). Hammamli K.D.
132. Euphrosyne Aphrodisiadae. M. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 314. Kebsud.
133. Euprepes provocator. R. Perrot I. 89 (56), *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 124 (7), Goold 105. Artaki.
134. Eusebes and Eutychius. *C.I.G.* 3568 *d*. Bigaditch.
135. Eutychas (Baebius). B-R.Y. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 20 (2). Panderma.
136. Eutyches. R.Y. *B.C.H.* XVII. 545 (34). Chaoush Keui.
137. Eutyches (Aurelius[3]). *C.I.G.* 3695 *c*. Gunen.
138. Eutyches (Aelius Lollius Lollianus). *C.I.G.* 3686. Artaki.
139. Eutyches[4] (?). *B.C.H.* XVII. 531 (32). Sari Keui.
140. Eutychia. T. *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 252 (19). Cyzicus.
141. Eutychia (parents of). *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, 196, Le Bas 1780. Assar Keui.
142. Eutychia (Aelia Servia) and family. *C.I.G.* 3702, Le Bas 1096. Ulubad
143. Eutychion. Le Bas 1102, cf. Perrot I. 98. Mihallitch.
144. Fausta (Boulcacia) and family. *B.C.H.* XVII. 453 (1). Cyzicus.
145. Faustinus (Aurelius). S. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 25 (12). Ulubad.
146. Fronto (Gaius[5]). B-R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 535 (16), cf. *Ath. Mitth.* XV. 342. Ermeni Keui.
147. Fronto (G. Mamilius). R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 544 (28). Triglia.
148. Fronto and Politta. M. *Anth. Pal.* VII. 334—335. Cyzicus.

[1] Ἔρως ζήσας ἔτη οε' | χαῖρε.
[2] Cf. *Berl. Cat. Sculp.* 836, which I suspect is also from the neighbourhood.
[3] Cf. Kaibel 643 (Messana).
[4] Possibly ὑπόμ]νη[μα...Εὐτυχο[ῦς.
[5] l. ι Ἀηδὼν ?

149. ...gaetho Polemarchi. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 22 (16), *B.S.A.* VIII. 195, pl. v*. Aidinjik.
150. Gaius (husband of Musa Sosthenis). *B.C.H.* XII. 197 (7). Aboulliond.
151. Gaius In.... *C.I.G.* 3658*e*. Assar Keui.
152. ...ges Attou.... R. *B.C.H.* XII. 195 (6). Eski Chatal.
153. Glyconianus (Annius). *J.H.S.* XXV. 59 (16). Balukiser.
154. Gordius A. Hamilton 317, Le Bas 1763, *C.I.L.* 370. Eski Manyas.
155. Helena Bospae. R. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 211 (41). Cyzicus.
156. Heraclides. R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 80 (21). Aidinjik.
157. Heraclides Polynicis. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 25 (25). Artaki.
158. Heraeus Heraei. *B.C.H.* XVII. 545 (15). Yeni Keui.
159. Hermaphilus Stratonis. Y.T. *C.I.G.* 3693. Cyzicus.
159†. Hermes (Aur.) Timothei. T. Νέος Ἑλληνομν. I. 275. Marmara.
160. Hermodorus (Mucius). R. *Tch. K.* 133 (255). Artaki.
161. Hermocrates. R.M. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 128 (13). Cyzicus.
162. Hermogenes and Epictesis. *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, 196, Le Bas 1774. Elles Keui.
162A. Herodorus. Y. Déthier, *Epig. Byz.* 56, pl. XXV*. (Galata.)
163. Herodotus (P. Annaeus[1]). Y. Le Bas 1077. Aboulliond.
164. Hippocrates and Iunia Grapte. Ξενοφάνης I. 327 (5), *B.C.H.* XXIV. 874 (13). Kalolimno.
164†. ...ii f. *J.H.S.* XXVI. 26 (3). Alexa.
165. Irene Antigoni. R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 522 (3). Panderma.
166. Ire[ne?] Aris... Perrot I. 89 (54). Hamamli K.D.
166. Isauricus (Fadius). *B.S.A.* XIII. 306 (2). Kouvouklia.
167. Iulius (Gaius). Hamilton 319, *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXIV. 108. Eski Manyas.
167†. Iulia Polybii. B-R. Mendel 67*. Kermasti.
168. Iustus. Le Bas 1092. Aboulliond.
169. Katomaros. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXV. 58 (12). Kermasti.
170. Laenas (Q., qui et Lysimachus). *Ath. Mitth.* XVI. 342, *B.C.H.* XVII. 544 (30). Triglia.
Leonidas, see v. 22.
171. Licinius (Lucius). *B.C.H.* XVII. 529 (28). Artaki.
172. Linus (M. Valerius). Y. Le Bas 1081. Aboulliond.
173. Lucilianus (A. Sattius). *B.C.H.* XVII. 528 (4). Dimetoka.
173A. Lucius. B-R.Y. *Berl. Cat. Sculp.* 837. (Smyrna[2].)
174. Lychnis. Y. *J.H.S.* XXV. 62 (*a*). Cyzicus.
175. Lysander Aristomenis. R. *Ath. Mitth.* XVI. 144, *R.E.G.* V. 509 (3). Cyzicus.
175†. Magnus (philosophus[3]). R.M. Mendel 71*. Kermasti.
176. Maeandria Bacchii. M. *Berl. Monatsb.* 1874, 4 (2), *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 53 (2), *Syllogos* VIII. 174 (11), Kaibel 244. Cyzicus.

[1] Cf. above v. 82. [2] Cf. above v. 26A.
[3] Cf. III. 30, 48.

177. Maior (Aurelius). *J.H.S.* XXIV. 36 (56). Kurshunlu.
Mandron Mnesiptolemi, see VI. 52.
178. Marcellus (C. Urbanius)[1]. *B.C.H.* XVII. 549 (44), *B.P.W.* 1897, 707 (3). Chaoush Keui (Bigha).
178A. Marcellus. Y. *C.I.G.* 6958. (Padua.)
179. Marcus (Flavius). *C.I.L.* III. 371. Cyzicus.
180. ...mare[2]. *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 253 (22). Ermeni Keui.
181. Matrodorus and Auge[3]. Gedeon 101, pl. i. 13. Prasteio.
182. Matrone (and family). T. *Syllogos* VII. 171 (4). Cyzicus.
182†. Medeus Medei and Mama. B-R. Mendel 63. Kermasti.
183. Melissa Ascladis (?) *C.I.G.* 3707. Mihallitch.
184. Menander Menandri and three others. R.M. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 14 (2). Cyzicus.
185. Menander Midiae. *Syllogos*, Παράρτ. τοῦ ιγ' τόμου, 20. Aksakal.
186. Menander Mileti. B-R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 522 (6). Panderma.
187. Menander Protomachi and Meleager Menandri. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 40 (66). Hadji Pagon.
188. Menander (?) (T. Claudius). B-R. *J.H.S.* XVII. 292 (71). Nr. Balukiser.
189. Menander, P. Aelius. Hamilton 308, Le Bas 1754, *Syllogos* VII. 173 (8). Aidinjik.
190. Menebius (?). B-R. *J.H.S.* XXV. 61 (23). Alexa.
191. Menecrates and Apphion. *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, 196, Le Bas 1781. Assar Keui.
192. Menecrates Andronici[4]. Y. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 28 (33). Nr. Gunen.
193. Menecrates Cleonteos. B-R. *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 900 (3). Balukiser.
194. Menecrates Hagiae. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 26 (19). Chamandra.
195. Menecrates Hermo[timi?]. B-R. *J.H.S.* XVII. 273 (17). Yenije.
195A. Menelaus Menelai. B-R. *C.I.G.* 6982 (Chandler LXVI.). (Oxford[5].)
195†. Menestheus Theodori. B-R. Mendel 62. Kermasti.
196. Menias. R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 528 (23). Artaki.
196A. Menius Diliporeos. C. *Ath. Mitth.* V. 84, Cauer 490. Cyzicus[6] (?).
196B. Menodorus Andronis. Y. *C.I.G.* 970. "Athens."[7]
197. Menodorus Menodori. C.Y. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 29 (30). Hammamli K.D.
198. Menodorus Midiae. Le Bas 1103, *Rev. Phil.* I. 39. Mihallitch.
Menogenes (?), see V. 311.
199. Menophanes Aristophanis. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 204 (4). Panderma.
199†. Menophanes Menophanis. *B.C.H.* XVII. 545 (33). Diaskeli.

[1] Greek inscription in Latin character.

[2] Possibly Εὐ]μαρ(εῖ) (γυ)ν(αι)κὶ μν(ε)ίας χάριν.

[3] Βλαστὸς | Ἐρέσιος | Ματροδώ|ρῳ καὶ Αὔγῃ τοῖς | συναποθα|νοῦσι μνήμης [χάριν.

[4] "ὃ κατεσκεύασαν αὐτῷ οἱ συμμύσται .HM...HNΩ."

[5] Boeckh connects this with *C.I.G.* 3383 (V. 280A), and the name is a favourite at Cyzicus.

[6] The provenance is doubtful.

[7] "Athenis Cons'polim delata"; the same is said of *C.I.G.* 975.

200. Menophanes Poseid(ippi?). B-R. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 25 (27). Panderma.
201. Met.... *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 316. Tekke Keui.
202. Metinna Protagorae. *B.C.H.* XVII. 533 (37). Aidinjik.
203. Menophile Asclepiadae. B-R. *Louvre Marb.* 2838. Cyzicus.
204. Menophilus Menothemidis. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXVI. 26 (5). Chaoush Keui.
205. ...menos. *J.H.S.* XXI. 233 (2). Kebsud.
206. Metrodorus. *J.H.S.* XXV. 59 (17). Ilidja.
207. Metrodorus Metrodori. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 23 (6). Aidinjik.
208. Metrophilus (and two others). R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 78 (13). Cyzicus.
209. Micce. M. *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXI. 350 (4), *Ath. Mitth.* IV. 17, Kaibel 338. Cyzicus.
210. Micce Apollophanis. B-R. *Black and White*, 1897, 207*, *J.H.S.* XXV. 58 (10). Debleki.
211. Micce Menandri. C.Y. *B.C.H.* XVII. 531 (31). Sari Keui.
Midias Asclepiadae, *s.v.* Asclepiades, V. 55.
212. Midias Βοκέδους. Le Bas 1072 (*Archit.* pl. ii. 2*), *Rev. Phil.* I. 44. Aboulliond.
213. Minucius (M.). *J.H.S.* XXI. 293 (74). Ingeji.
214. Moschion Athenodori. R. *C.I.G.* 3701, Ξενοφάνης I. 328 (9), cf. Πλάτων X. 249. Kalolimno.
215. Moschion. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 38 (61). Yenije.
216. Moschion Diodori. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 27 (22). Ergileh.
217. Moschion Menodori. R. *B.P.W.* 1892, 707 (1). Karadagh.
218. Moschion Moschii. Hamilton 309, Le Bas 1753. Aidinjik.
219. ...Moschii and...Menandri. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 80 (18). Panderma.
219†$_1$. Moschus (L. Baebius)[1]. *Rev. Arch. N. S.* XXXII. 268 (1). Cyzicus.
219†$_2$. Myrrhine (Aurelia). S.T.D. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 312. Yildiz.
219†$_3$. Myrrhinus (tax-collector). C. *B.C.H.* XVII. 530 (29). Sari Keui.
219†$_4$. Naevia[2]. Gedeon, pl. iv. 23. Marmara I.
219†$_5$. Nana Cleonices. Le Bas 1082. Aboulliond.
219†$_6$. Nice. R. Perrot I. 89 (5). Cyzicus.
219†$_7$. Nicephorus Moschii. Y. *J.H.S.* XXV. 61 (24). Gunen.
219†$_8$. Nicetas. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 75 (3). Cyzicus.
219†$_9$. Nicias (Aurelius). R. *J.H.S.* XXI. 234. Nr. Kebsud.
219†$_{10}$. ...ni. B-R. *Rev. Arch. III. S.* XVII. 10 (4). Cyzicus.
220. Niger (L. Modius). Y. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 294. Peramo.
221. Nympheros (qui et Nicanor) Nicopolites[3]. T. *J.H.S.* XVII. 275 (24). Aidinjik.
221†. Onesimus (Pergamenus). Mendel 54*. Kavakli.
222. Onesimus (P. Aelius) ἠνιογράφος. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 126 (9). Cyzicus.
223. Onesimus (L. Iulius). Y. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 209 (38). Cyzicus.

[1] This is probably not sepulchral, cf. VI. 17.

[2] γυ]ναικὶ Ναιβί[ᾳ· εἰ δέ | τι]ς τολμήσει εἰστ[ίθεναι...δ]ώσει τ(ῷ).... (Last line) Χβφ'.

223†. Onesimus. R. *B.S.A.* XIII. 307 (5). Kouvouklia.
224. Onesiphorus[1]? Y. Gedeon, p. 63. Aphysia.
225. Ophelime (Sept. Aurelia). R.Y. *J.H.S.* XVII. 274? (20). Panderma.
226. Papias Papiae. B-R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 533 (36). Aidinjik.
227. Pasinices. B-R.Y. *B.C.H.* XVII. 533 (39). Aidinjik.
228. ...qui et Paterion Dionysii. *J.H.S.* XVII. 274 (22). Panderma.
229. Paula. M. (fragmentary). *J.H.S.* XXIV. 30 (35). Langada.
230. Paula. *Rev. Arch. N. S.* XXXIV. 108 (6), *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 299. Eski Manyas.
231. Paulus? *J.H.S.* XXIV. 32 (46). Kalami.
232. Pemate. *J.H.S.* XXV. 59 (15). Balukiser.
233. Peplus Secundae. Le Bas 1074. Aboulliond.
234. Perigenes (Aur.). Y. *J.H.S.* XXII. 204 (10). Kazak Keui.
235. Phaeex Isagorae. *C.I.G.* 3682, Bechtel 109. Cyzicus.
235†. Philaenium Tyranni. R. Mendel 72. Kermasti.
235A. Philemation (Aelia?). Y. *C.I.G.* 7007. (Padua.)
236. Philistas? Herocratis. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 24 (10). Mihallitch.
237. Philocalus Lollii. C.Y. *Berl. Monatsb.* 1860, 496 (3), Perrot I. 89 (54). Ermeni Keui.
238. Philoctetes. *J.H.S.* XXV. 58 (11). Aboulliond.
239. Philomelas. S.Y. *Berl. Sitzb.* 1889, II. 554. Kurshunlu.
240. Philonice. D. *J.H.S.* XXI. 233. Kebsud.
241. Phylarchus (Aur.). Y. *Berl. Monatsb.* 1860, 496 (4). Ermeni Keui.
242. Phyllis (?) S. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 31 (39). Langada.
243. Plotia. T. *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 253 (21). Ermeni Keui.
244. Pollianus. T. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 33 (47). Diavati.
244†. Pollio. T. *Syllogos*, Παράρτ. τοῦ ιε' τόμου, 73 (52). Yalichiftlik.
245. Polycarpia (Iulia). Le Bas 1080, *Rev. Phil.* I. 42. Aboulliond.
246. ...Poseidonii[2]. Gedeon, pl. iv. 25. Marmara I.
246†. Polydamas. *B.S.A.* XIII. 306 (3). Kouvouklia.
247. Potamon Asclepae. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 24 (9), Mendel 59. Mihallitch.
247A. Potamon Alexandri. R.Y. *C.I.G.* 6978. Constantinople.
248. Primilla[3]. Gedeon 36, pl. i. 7. Pasha Liman.
249. Protogonus. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 305. Chorduk.
250. Publius.... Y. *J.H.S.* XXV. 62 (26). Gunen.
251. Publius...nei. Hamilton 303, Le Bas 1777. Aboulliond.
252. Pyrrhus (Aur.). Le Bas 1076. Aboulliond.
253. Pythodorus Pythae and Pythes Pythodori. R. *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 254 (23). Ermeni Keui.
254. Rufus (C. Sepullius). Hamilton 315, Le Bas 1759, *C.I.L.* 373[4]. Artaki.
255. Rufus G. Κουλχιος (?)[5]. Gedeon, pl. iv. 29. Marmara I.

[1] Ὑπόμνημα | ΚΑΤΙΟΝΗ...ΜΟΡΟΥ | ὁ κατεσκεύασεν ἐα[υ|τῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί.
[2] ...Ποσειδωνίου [ὁ κατεσκε]ύασεν | ἑ]αυτῷ (καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ) [μνήμης] χάριν.
[3] Πρειμίλλα χαῖρε. [4] (bilingual).
[5] Ἄμμα Ἀρτέμιδος (?) | τῷ ἰδίῳ κυρίῳ κὲ ἀνδρὶ | Γαίῳ Κουλχίῳ Ῥούφῳ | μνήμης χάριν.

256. ...rus (? Zopyrus) heros. *Louvre Inscrr.* 263, *Marb.* 2853, *Bull. Arch. de l'Ath. Fr.* 1855, 60 (4). Cyzicus.
257. Rutilianus (Stlaccius). *C.I.G.* 3654*g*. Karabogha.
258. Sabinus (L.). Le Bas 1760, *C.I.L.* 369. Mihallitch.
259. Sacerdos. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 80 (20). Aidinjik.
260. Sapricius (Aur.)[1]. *B.C.H.* XXIV. 874 (16). Kalolimno.
261. Scorpus, T. Hamilton 314, Le Bas 1756. Aidinjik.
262. Se]rvilius (G.). *J.H.S.* XXVI. 26 (4). Chaoush Keui (Kara-déré).
263. Secunda (Hortensia). *J.H.S.* XXIII. 78 (10). Cyzicus.
263†. Secundus. B-R. *B.S.A.* XIII. 307 (6). Kouvouklia.
264. Secundus Gorgiae. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 27 (32), XXIX. 295 *b*. Langada.
265. Severus (Aur.) and family[2]. Gedeon 29, pl. i. 4. Houklia.
266. Smo... (Aur.) Gerousiast. *C.I.G.* 3687. Artaki.
267. Sosibius Capitonis. R. B.M.[3] Cyzicus.
268. Soteris. R.Y. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 25 (29). Panderma.
269. Sote]richus, Artemon and Midias. R. Μουσ. καὶ Βιβλ. Π_2 σια', Stark 375 (9). Cyzicus.
270. Soterius (A. Flavius). *C.I.G.* 3698. Marmara.
271. Stacte Mnestoris. Hamilton 305, Le Bas 1083. Aboulliond.
272. Stephanephorus. M. Hamilton 326, Le Bas 1767, *Rh. Mus.* 1842, 251 (27), Kaibel 342. Kebsud.
273. Stephanus. *J.H.S.* XXI. 232. Kebsud.
274. Stephanus Dii. Le Bas 1084. Aboulliond.
275. Strato...Menophanis. M. *Ath. Mitth.* XIV. 248. 16, *J.H.S.* XVII. 272 (14). Mihallitch.
276. Struthis Heraclidae. *B.C.H.* XIV. 540 (7). Cyzicus.
277. Syncletice Artemidori. *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, 196, Le Bas 1778. Chai Keui.
278. Synetus. B-R.M. *B.C.H.* XVII. 522 (5). Panderma.
279. Syntyche. Y.R. Perrot I. 88 (53). Yeni Keui.
279†. Tadoutos Dionysii. R. Mendel 37. Mihallitch.
280. Teleos Speusippi. *Ath. Mitth.* XIV. 252 (21). Kermasti.
280A. Telesphorus. B-R.Y. *C.I.G.* 3383, *Louvre Inscrr.* 252, *Marb.* 2857. (Choiseul.)
281. Tertulla (Q., Apollodori). *B.C.H.* XII. 69 (3). Debleki.
282. Theodorion. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 272. Balia Maden.
283. Theophila (Sebia). *J.H.S.* XXV. 62 (27). Bighashehr.
284. Timoclea Dioclis. R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 543 (27), cf. *Ath. Mitth.* XV. 342. Triglia.
285. Timolaus Seleuci and Dionysius Timolai. B-R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 79 (15)*. Panderma.

[1] l. 2 δ κα]τε|σκεύασαν.

[2] κατε](σ)κ[εύασεν] ἑαυτ[ῷ | κ]αὶ τ(ῷ) τέκνῳ Αὐρ. Σευή[ρῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ] Βουλ(ομνίᾳ?) καὶ τῷ προσφι[λεῖ Θρεπτῷ?] M. Οὐλ[πίῳ] Διονυσίῳ.

[3] In Mausoleum annexe, no number ("Presented by Col. F. Warren, R.A.").

285†. (Timothei frater.) *B.S.A.* XIII. 306 (4). Kouvouklia.
286. Trieteris. R. *B.C.H.* XVII. 528 (24). Artaki.
287. Trophime Sosibii. B-R. *J.H.S.* XVII. 274 (21). Panderma.
288. Trophimus (Faustus). Hamilton 312, Le Bas 1752. Aidinjik.
289. Tryphaena Charixeni[1]. T. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 127 (10). Cyzicus.
290. Tryphaena. T. Le Bas 1104. Mihallitch.
291. Tryphosa Cleandri. R. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 80 (17). Panderma.
292. Tychice. *J.H.S.* XXV. 59 (4). Mendoura.
293. Tyrannis (Domitia?). R. *B.C.H.* XII. 198 (8). Aboulliond.
293A. Unicus (D.). Y. *J.H.S.* XXV. 63 (*d*). Brusa.
Unio, see Dionysius, v. 107.
294. Urbicius (C. Flavius). *Berl. Monatsb.* 1860, 496 (4). Ermeni Keui.
295. Varia[2]. Y. *B.C.H.* XVII. 528 (25). Artaki.
296. V...(Aur.). S. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 31 (40). Katatopo.
296†. ? Va]lentianus. Y. *J.H.S.* XXV. 62 (*c*). Mihallitch.
296††. Valerius (Decimus). Le Bas 1075. Aboulliond.
297. Zeno. Hamilton 310, Le Bas 1755. Aidinjik.
298. Zitharus. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 311. Nusrat.
299. Zoimus (? Zosimus). *J.H.S.* XXIV. 30 (33). Katatopo.
300. Zopyrus[3]? S. *B.C.H.* XVII. 523 (8). Panderma.
301. Zosime. *C.I.G.* 3706. Mihallitch.
301A. Zosimus. R.Y. *C.I.G.* 6937. (Verona.)
302. Zosimus Tychici. Y[4]. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 312. Yildiz.
303. Zotiche Onesimi. *J.H.S.* XXV. 57 (8). Panderma.
303A. Zotiche Potamonis. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 75 (2). Cyzicus.

Anonymous and fragmentary sepulchral inscriptions:

(*a*) *Stelae with reliefs.*

304. Relief of seated woman, servant, and horseman with mutilated inscription. *Tch. K.* 122 (263). Cyzicus.
305. Relief of hunter and dog. *Louvre Inscrr.* 262, *Marbres* 2852, *Bull. Arch. de l'Ath. Fr.* 1855, 60 (6). Cyzicus.
306. Relief of Graces and Erotes with metrical 'salutation.' *J.H.S.* XXIV. 29 (32). Katatopo.
307. Reliefs of banquet and horseman with 'salutation' distich. *J.H.S.* XVII. 274 (19), cf. *ibid.* XXV. 58. Aksakal.

[1] Hipparchate of? Victor]ina and Nonia Quarta.

[2] Τ'πόμν[ημα] Οὐαρίας τ[ῆς...] ὃ ἐποίησ[εν αὐ]τῇ ὁ ἀ]νὴρ Κ[αι]κ[ίλιος?] Πωλλ[ίων] καὶ ἑαυτῷ.

[3] συνεχώρησα δὲ εἰς τὸν [σπ]ειρέτιόν μου βληθῆναι τό[ν τε υἱὸν Ζώ]πυρον κτλ. (for σπειρέτιον cf. ὑποσπειρέτιον in v. ✠ 22).

[4] Probably Xt. The monument is designated μαρτύριον.

(*b*) *Metrical fragments.*

308. Elegiac fragment Ποῦ σοφίης, etc. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 302, cf. XXX. 329. Demir Kapu.
309. Beginnings of four lines. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 24 (24). Cyzicus.
310. Similar. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 209 (36 *a*). Cyzicus.
311. Portions of five lines[1]. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 209 (36 *b*). Cyzicus.
312. Portions of seven lines. Ξενοφάνης I. 330 (12), *B.C.H.* XXIV. 874 (20). Beychiftlik.
313. Metrical fragment. *J.H.S.* XXV. 60 (21). Yeni Bulgar Keui.
314. Similar. *Ath. Mitth.* IV. 21, cf. VI. 257. Cyzicus.
315. „ Le Bas 1085. Aboulliond.
316. „ Le Bas 1090. „
(See also above, v. 258, 263.)

(*c*) *Fragments of sarcophagi, etc.*

317. Fine to tameion. Le Bas 1091. Aboulliond.
318. „ fiscus. *J.H.S.* XVII. 272 (15). Mihallitch.
319. Similar. Ξενοφάνης I. 327 (4), *B.C.H.* XXIV. 375. Kalolimno.
320. Fine to heirs. Perrot I. 99 (61), *J.H.S.* XXIV. 24 (15). Mihallitch.
321. Fine. *J.H.S.* XXII. 204 (12). Cyzicus.
322. Similar. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 300, *J.H.S.* XXV. 60 (19). Assar Alan.
(Fine to σακκαφόροι ἀπὸ τοῦ μετρητοῦ, see v. ✠ 22.)
323. Law of τυμβορυχία. *J.H.S.* XVII. 272 (15). Mihallitch.
323†. „ „ *J.H.S.* XXVII. 66 (11). Chakyrdja.
324. Curse, ἐπουρανίων, etc. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 33 (48). Diavati.
325. Curse. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 24 (21). Artaki.
326. Fragment. *Syllogos*, Παράρτ. τοῦ ιε' τόμου, 73 (53). Yalichiftlik.
327. „ with ὑπόμνημα. *J.H.S.* XXXIII. 82 (29). Aidinjik.
328. Three fragments. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 32 (44). Kalami.
329. Fragment with ὑπόμνημα. *C.I.G.* 3704, Le Bas 1098. Ulubad.
330. Fragment. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 32 (41). Langada.
331. „ [2] Gedeon 103, pl. ii. 14. Klazaki.
332. „ [3] „ 16, pl. i. 1. Yera.
333. „ *J.H.S.* XXII. 204 (11). Cyzicus.
333†. „ Ξενοφάνης I. 328 (7). Kalolimno.
333††. „ „ I. 328 (8). „
334. Fragmentary epitaph of a legionary. *Ath. Mitth.* XIX. 303. Balukiser.
335. Similar[4]. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 316. Aboulliond.
336. Fragment of bilingual inscr. *Ath. Mitth.* XIV. 249 (18). Ulubad.

[1] ? Οὔνομα Μη]νογένης πατ[ρὸς δὲ, etc. l. 2 πε]ντεκαιεικοσ[έτης.
[2] ΤΑΕΙΑΣΗ δώσει πρόστ[ιμον | ...οδίζουσιν τοῦ γ....
[3] (*a*) λοιπ]οῖ(s) ἀπαγορεύω, (*b*) ἡ συ[λήση.
[4] l. 1 λεγιῶνος Μακεδονικῆς.

337. Fragment with date ΤΚΒ'. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 315. Kebsud.
338. „ „ ΤΚΕ'. Hamilton 328, Le Bas 1770. Kebsud.
339. „ „ ΣΝΘ'. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 313. Redzeb.
340. „ „ ΣΝΣ'. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 302. Omar Keui.
341. „ „ ΓΝϚ'. Le Bas 1088. Aboulliond.
342. Indeterminate fragment. Le Bas 1086. „
343. „ „ Le Bas 1089. „
344. „ „ Le Bas 1093. „
345. „ „ Le Bas 1094. „

See also II. 11 (*a*).

(b) CHRISTIAN[1].

✠1. Alexander[2]. D. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 209 (39), Cumont 270 (11). Cyzicus.
2. Alexandria. E. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 37 (60). Yenije K.D.
3. Anastasius and Euphemia. Θ. *B.C.H.* XVII. 523 (10). Panderma.
4. Anna Varii. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 78 (12). S. George I.
5. Antiochus (?) Θ. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 82 (27). Aidinjik.
5†. „ Θ. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 65 (10). Chakyrdja.
6. Aphthonetus. Θ. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 76 (7). Yeni Keui.
7. Arcadius. *J.H.S.* XXII. 203 (9), Mendel 430. Cyzicus.
8. Aurelius.... Θ. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 30 (34). Egri Déré.
9. Auxanon[3]. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 75 (4), see Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, 203. Cyzicus.
9†. „ Gedeon, pl. iv. 29. Marmara I.
10. Chrestus (Aelius)[4]. Υ. *C.I.G.* 3690, Perrot I. 89 (58), Cumont 270 (8). See *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 20. Artaki.
11. Cyriacus. E. *B.C.H.* XVII. 528 (26). Artaki.
12. Domitius. Θ. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 23 (5). Aidinjik.
13. Euphrosyne. E. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 35 (53). Koum Liman.
13†. Eunice (?)[5]. Θ. Gedeon 103, pl. i. 12. Prasteio.
14. Eupractus[6]. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 128 (12), Cumont 270 (10). Cyzicus.
15. Eusebia and Lampros. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 86 (36). Yappaji Keui.
16. Gen[tianus? (Iulius)[7]. Υ. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 79 (16). Panderma.
17. Heraclea. Θ.Τ. *Syllogos* VIII. 173 (10). Cyzicus.
18. Hermogenes and Sminthia. Θ. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 27 (2). Langada.
18†. Ioannes episcopus. *J.H.S.* XVII. 269 (3), cf. *B.S.A.* XIII. 209. Tachtali.
19. Ioannes presbyter. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 84 (33). Hammamli K.D.

[1] D = date, E = *ἐνθάδε κεῖται κτλ.*, Θ = *θέσις*, Υ = *ὑπόμνημα*. [2] *Ἀνεπαύσατο*, etc.

[3] The formula is *ὃς ἂν ποσκοψει* (*sic*, cf. *Ath. Mitth.* XV. 161) *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν*; *Αὐξάνων*, a rather characteristic Xt. name, occurs also in V. 255.

[4] *εἰ δέ τις τολμήσῃ...ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*

[5] *θέσις Εὐ[ν]οίκη[ς | ασμ....*

[6] *Καγκελλάριος τάξεως καθολικοῦ ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.*

[7] Fragmentary and possibly not Xt.

✠20. Ioannes and Placidilla (?). Θ. *J.H.S.* XXXIII. 86 (37). Yappaji Keui.

21. Iulianus and Antiope. Θ. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 27 (32), XXIX. 294. Langada.

21†. Martinianus. S. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 292*. Cyzicus.

21††. Nicephorus. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 306. Kavakli.

22. Octaverius[1]? *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 125 (8), Cumont 270 (9). Cyzicus.

22†. Patricius[2]. E. Gedeon, pl. iii. 21. Marmara I.

23. Paulus. S.Y. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 36 (55). Kurshunlu.

24. Pegasius[3]. *B.C.H.* XVII. 524 (13). Debleki.

24†. Petrus. *J.H.S.* XXI. 234. Balukiser.

25. Phili...ia. Hamilton 307, Le Bas 1758. Aidinjik.

26. Sergius. *C.I.G.* 8908, Le Bas 1106, Cumont 271 (8). Mihallitch.

27. Symeon. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 31 (37). Langada.

28. Theodulus Aquilinus. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 24 (23), Μουσ. καὶ Βιβλ. II_2. 14 (ση'). (Calvert Coll.) Cyzicus.

29. Theodora diaconissa. E. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 24 (8). Mihallitch.

29†. Theoktistus (?). *B.S.A.* XIII. 305 (1). Tachtali.

30. Trophimus[4]. Θ. *B.C.H.* XVII. 524 (14). Yeni Keui.

31. Tatas (?) and Tryphaena[5]. *B.C.H.* XVII. 523 (11). Panderma.

31†. Tryphon of Vatopedion[6]. Gedeon 61. Aphysia.

32. Tryphon Papyli. Θ. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 82 (26). Aidinjik.

Zosimus, see above v. 302 note.

33. Anonymous iambic epitaph dated 6500 (991) with relief of orb between Φ(ῶς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Φ(αίνει) Π(ᾶσιν). *J.H.S.* XXIV. 37 (59). Yenije K.D.

34. *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν.* *C.I.G.* 3703, Le Bas 107, Cumont 271 (19). Ulubad.

35†. *ὑπὲρ εἰευχ[ης.* *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 302. Assar Kaleh.

Other Christian inscriptions (not sepulchral) are VI. 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 28, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 62, 63, 64.

[1] Τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα διαφέρει σὺν τῷ ὑποσπιριτίῳ καὶ βάθροις Ὀκταθέρηου (*sic*) ἀποθηκαρίου τοῦ κατὰ Ἄττου κώμης καὶ κληρονόμων αὐτοῦ. Χριστέ, ἀναπαῦσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ. ΧΜΓ.

[2] Ἐνθάδε κα|τακῖτε Πα|τρίκιος ὁ τ|ῆς μακαρίας | μνήμης ὁρμώμε|νος ἀπὸ χορίου Νένου ἐνορίας | Μιρουπόλε[ως | ἐτελιώθ[η | ἐν κυρί(ου) ἔ[τει | κισ'.

[3] *ὑπὲρ* εἰευχης Π(η)γασίου. The formula need not be sepulchral. For εἰευχῆς cf. below (35) and *I.G.* XII. 911.

[4] Θέσις Τροφίμου ν[αυκληρ]ο[υ?

[5] Ὑπόμν]ημα διαφέρ(ο)ν | τοῖς ἀ]πὸ Τάτου καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ | γαμετῆς Τρυφαίνης.

[6] Ἔνθα κα|τακ(εῖ)τ(αι) | Βατοπεδι[αν|ὸς] Τρύφων.

CLASS VI. MISCELLANEA.

(a) LANDMARKS.

1. Milestone with titles of Trajan and name of proconsul Vettius Proclus (115–6 A.D.). *B.C.H.* XII. 63. Aidinjik.
2. Similar of Severus, proconsul Lollianus Gentianus (209 A.D.): later emperors below. *B.C.H.* XII. 66, *C.I.L.* 7179, 7180. Debleki.
3. Similar road mark with inscrr. of 334–7 and 364–75. *B.C.H.* XVII. 523. Nr. Debleki.
4. Eighth milestone with inscr. of (*a*) Constantine and (*b*) Valentinian. *J.H.S.* XVII. 273 (18). Omar Keui.
5. Twenty-fifth do. with similar inscrr. Perrot I. 99 (62). Chamandra.
6. Thirteenth do. with inscrr. of Iovianus[1]. *B.C.H.* XVII. 546, 35. 'Below Chaoush Keui.'

6†. Boundary-stone of Cyzicus beyond the Aesepus. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 277. 'Porta.'

7. Boundary-stone of Miletupolis and Poemanenum. *Ath. Mitth.* XIV. 247, *J.H.S.* XVII. 271 (3), cf. XXIV. 24. Mihallitch.
8. Boundary of Argiza (?) and Skepsis. *Berl. Sitzb.* 1894, 204. Nr. Koghanjik.
9. Boundary of Mandrae and Gannatenum. Le Bas 1075, *Rev. Phil.* I. 202. Akcheler.
10. Boundary-stone of quarry[2]? Gedeon 114–5, pl. iii. 19. Papas.
11. Boundary-stone (indecipherable)[3]. *J.H.S.* XVII. 269 (4). Akcheler.
12. Boundary-stone of Hydreae[4] (?). *J.H.S.* XVII. 276, 26. Chepne.

For other village-names see V.22† (Ἄττου κώμη), V. ✠22† (χωρίον Νένου), VI. 57 (Γυτυνοί), V. 192 (Πημανηνοί?), IV. 52 (Ταδοκομειτῆς), IV. 23 (Θρακία κώμη), V. 26A (Συκηνοί), V. ✠9 (Τρουδουνηνός), I. 8, 9 (Πλακιανή): Foreign inscriptions *Miletus* (2) (Πυθοκωμήτης, Παννοκωμήτης, Εὐπαννήση): for village administration IV. 14, IV. 23 (διοικητής), IV. 13 (χῶρος), V. 26A (χωρηταί), IV. 20 (κωμηταί), V. 127 (πρωτοκωμήτης), IV. 23, 82 (γεοκτεῖται), I. 16 (public lands).

13. Boundary of Athena (?). *J.H.S.* XXIV. 29 (31). Haraki.
14. Private boundary of Macedonius and Andreas. *Ath. Mitth.* IV. 25 (28). Panderma.
15. Similar of Parthenius and.... *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 306. Kara Oghlan.
16. Three blocks with FCT. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 36. Tekke Keui.

[1] *C.I.L.* 7178 (*Eph. Ep.* II. 351) 'between Musatcha and Pasha Chiftlik' seems to be a fuller reading of the same stone.

[2] Λατόμ(ι)ο(ν) τῆς Θε(ο)τόκου | τῆς ἐν Τελόρι+.

[3] Perhaps +ὅροι διαφέροντες τὸν Κοτᾶ (χῶρον): for Κοτῆς cf. Ramsay, *Phryg.*, Inscr. 173.

[4] Very illiterate; the sense seems to be: ὁροθεσία Ὑδρεῶν ἀϊδία· ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὃς ἂν αὐτὴν ἀφανίσῃ.

(b) INSCRIPTIONS FROM STATUES, ARCHITECTURE, ETC.

17. Inscription from statue of Cyzicus set up in the theatre. *C.I.G.* 3667. Cyzicus.

18. Elegiac couplet from statue of Homer. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 129 (14). Artaki.

19. Fragment of couplet. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 84 (32). Cyzicus.

20. Signature of Sosigenes Eucratis on statue-base. *B.C.H.* XIV. 540 (5), Loewy 281. Cyzicus.

21. Inscription from the megaron of Baebius[1]. *Rev. Arch. N. S.* XXXII. 268 (2). Cyzicus.

22. Inscription on frieze of stoa (?) built by Hadrian. Hamilton 304. Le Bas 1068 (*Rev. Phil.* I. 40), cf. *Mon. Fig.* pl. 48. Aboulliond.

23. Inscription commemorating architectural works of Celer and Hermas[2]. *C.I.G.* 3705. Aboulliond.

23†. Inscribed architrave of Tychaeum at Miletupolis. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 78 (11), Mendel 91, 92. Kermasti.

24. Inscription on architrave of small temple. *J.H.S.* XXIII. 78 (11). Cyzicus.

25. Dedication[3] of temple (?). Gedeon, pl. iv. 22. Marmara I.

26. Inscribed architrave with name of G. Calvisius. *J.H.S.* XVII. 292 (71), XXI. 237. Balukiser.

27. Fragment relating to the building of a stoa (?). *J.H.S.* XXIV. 26 (17), XXV. 58. Aboulliond.

28. Byzantine inscription on door-jamb. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 27 (31), cf. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 30. Katatopo.

Among the architectural inscriptions should also be ranged the series of epigrams from the temple of Apollonis (*Anth. Pal.* III. 1–19) and the two seen by Cyriac (*B.C.H.* XIV. 535 ff.):

28†. (*a*) on the temple of Hadrian:

Ἐκ δαπέδου μ' ὤρθωσεν ὅλης Ἀσίας [μέγα θαῦμα]
Ἀφθονίῃ χ[α]ίρων Διὸς Ἀριστενέτο[υ][4].

28††. (*b*) 'ad...Persephonae templum.'

'Illustrissimi heroes et optimi Cyzicenorum civitatis cives maximae caelesti et inferiali dearum gloriosae nympharum a Iove productarum Proserpinae talem construxerunt aram[5].'

[1] Cf. v. 219†1.

[2] For ζυγοστάσιον cf. Ramsay *Phryg.* II. 647: ζυγοστάτης occurs in Μουσ. καὶ Βιβλ. II_2. 47 (σοβ').

[3] ΑΡΔΙΣ τὸν ναὸν σὺμ παντὶ [τῷ κόσμῳ].

[4] So Preger, *Epigr. Gr.* 47. Cf. Keil in *Hermes* 1897, 505 (note) and 507.

[5] Possibly "Ηρωες βαθύδοξοι ἄριστοί τ' ἄστεος ἄνδρες | Κυζίκου οὐρανίων τε καταχθονίων τε φερίστῃ | Νυμφῶν τ' εὐκλεέων τῶν ἐκ Διὸς ἐκγεγαυιῶν | Περσεφόνῃ βωμὸν τοιοῦτον ἐπῳκοδόμησαν.

Other inscriptions relating to buildings are I. 21 (tower of city wall, cf. I. 22), IV. 68, 69 (harbour-works), IV. 1 (triumphal arch).

Public buildings are mentioned in I. 10 (temple of Asklepios and Apollo), I. 12 (of Athena Polias), IV. 71 (of Aphrodite), I. 9 (Parthenon of Placia), III. 35 (Precinct of Kore), II. 9 (the Kallion), I. 10 (the Heroön), I. 8 (Market of the Men), I. 4 (of Tryphaena), I. 5 (Doric Portico and Tables), I. 10 (Portico and Καταδρομή), I. 5, VI. 17.

(c) GRAFFITI FROM THE GYMNASIA[1].

29. Dethier, *Epig. Byz.* 73 ff. pl. vii., cf. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 122 (4). Cyzicus.
30. Dethier, *loc. cit.* pl. VIII.[2] Cyzicus.
31. Dethier, *loc. cit.* pl. IX. Cyzicus.
32. *Ath. Mitth.* VI. 122 (4), Goold 124. Cyzicus.
33. *Syllogos* VIII. 74 (9), *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 252 (186). Ermeni Keui.
34. *Ath. Mitth.* VII. 252 (18 *a*), *Rev. Arch. III S.* III. 395. Ermeni Keui.
35. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 207 (33). Ermeni Keui.

35 A. *Mus. Worsl.* I. 41, *C.I.G.* 6845, Conze *Lesbos* 32, pl. xiii. (9). Cyzicus.

36. *J.H.S.* XXVI. 28 (7). Panderma.

(d) SMALL OBJECTS (VARIOUS).

37. Fragment of cylindrical vessel with reliefs of Hermes, etc. inscribed. *Ath. Mitth.* X. 208. Cyzicus.
38. Bronze lamp dedicated to Artemis Ephesia by strategus of Miletupolis. *C.I.G.* 5944, Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, 212*. (Rome.)
39. Inscribed sundial. *B.C.H.* XVII. 547 (39). Gunen.
40. Inscribed mina weight[3]. *Arch. Zeit.* XLII. 146. (B.M.)
41. Similar double-stater weight. *C.I.G.* 3681, *Bronzes Bibl. Nat.* 2242.
42. „ stater „ *Bronzes Bibl. Nat.* 2243.

42†. Weight inscribed with name of hipparch Onesimus. Pernice, *Gr. Gewichte*, No. 624. (Athens.)

43. Inscribed intaglio gem. *Class. Rev.* IV. 282[4]. Cyzicus.
44. Handle of amphora with round stamp of the Cyzicenes Iason and Callippus. Ἀθηναῖον III. 452.

44†. Byzantine lamp stamped Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν (unpublished). Panderma.

[1] These inscriptions are usually accompanied by incised outlines of human feet, often in pairs, each foot being inscribed with the name of an athlete. A second inscription exhorts the *neoi* to 'remember for good' their departed comrades: cf. outside Cyzicus Fränckel *Inschrr. Perg.* 574, *C.I.G.* 4945–6.

[2] No. 30 is dated by the name of the hipparch Claudia Ptolemais.

[3] Many varieties of these weights are exhibited at the British Museum (cf. *Cat. Bronzes* 3000) and Dr Mordtmann of Constantinople has a large collection from Cyzicus so far as I know unpublished.

[4] Now in BM.

45. Byzantine marble jar inscribed Ἐλέου ζεστοῦ ΝΔ'. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 293*. Nr. Cyzicus.

45†. Inscribed amulet. *R.E.G.* 1891, 287. Yappaji Keui.

(e) BYZANTINE SEALS.

46. Ioannes commerciarius of the Hellespont (and Cyzicus?). Schlumberger 197.

47. Nicolaus metropolitan of Cyzicus[1]. *Ibid.* 199.

47†. Ignatius „ „ [2]. *Journ. Int. Num.* 1906, 70 (122 ε').

47††. Demetrius *epitropos* of Cyzicus. *Ibid.* 70 (122 ε).

47†††. Symeon *proedros* of Cyzicus. *Ibid.* 70 (122 ζ).

48. Leontius archbishop of Proconnesus[3]. Schlumberger 198.

48†. Ioannes bishop of Dascylium. *Ibid.* 732.

49. Epiphanes Xenodochus of Lupadium. *Ibid.* pp. 246, 381.

(f) BYZANTINE GLASS WEIGHTS.

50. Eparch Theopemptus. *Byz. Zeitschr.* VII. 604. Cyzicus.

51. „ Droserius. *R.E.G.* VIII. 1895, 65 (2), cf. *Byz. Zeitschr. l. c.* Cyzicus.

(g) UNCLASSIFIED AND FRAGMENTARY.

52. Boustrophedon fragment[4]. Gedeon, pl. i. 3. Houklia.

53. Collection of Aphorisms. *J.H.S.* XXVII. 62 (3), *B.P.W.* 1907, 765. Mendel 401. Kermasti.

54. Rock-cut inscription[5]. Gedeon 114, pl. iii. 18. Papas.

54†. Inscription regulating cutting of tree (?). *J.H.S.* XXVII. 66 (13). Pomak Keui.

55. Fragment of inscription relating to philosophers. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX. 299, *J.H.S.* XXIV. 27 (25). Eski Manyas.

56. Latin fragment[6]. Gedeon 89, pl. ii. 10. Marmara.

57. Votive (?) inscr. of Gabilla. Perrot I. 98 (60). Mihallitch.

57†. (Αὔξει Προκόννησος τῷ αἰῶνι, etc.) Νέος Ἑλληνομν. I. 275. Marmara.

58. (...ων διὰ τὸν θεὸν Τιβέριον.) Hamilton 370, Le Bas 1762, *Rev. Arch. N. S.* XXXIV. 108 (5). Eski Manyas.

58A. Fragment of doubtful provenance. *C.I.G.* 3659[7].

[1] Lequien, *Oriens Xt.* XXIII.

[2] X.–XI. cent. This bishop is unknown to Lequien, nor does he figure in the fuller list drawn up by Nicodemus.

[3] *Leo* in Lequien (VII.).

[4] Sepulchral of Mandron Mnesiptolemi, Wilamowitz *Nordion. Steine* 62 (22)*.

[5] Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ | τοῖς ἀπα[ρ]ᾶσιν.

[6] Kal. Ianuar. Sergio Saturnino et Aurel...(consuls?).

[7] Lucas prints this under Cyzicus and Eski Shehr.

59. Indecipherable. *C.I.G.* 3696. Pasha Liman.
60. Fragment relating to mysteries (?). *J.H.S.* XXIII. 77 (9). Cyzicus.
61. (*πρῶτος | τεχειαι.*) *J.H.S.* XVII. 270 (7). Aboulliond.
62. Byzantine fragment. *J.H.S.* XXIV. 24 (7). Mihallitch.
63. „ „ *J.H.S.* XXIV. 24 (15). Ulubad.
64. „ „ Sestini, *Litt. Odop.* I. 86, *J.H.S.* XXIV. 24 (16). Issiz Khan.
65. Fragment. *Rev. Arch. N. S.* XXIV. 106 (2). Eski Manyas.
66. „ Gedeon 38. Gera.
67. „ [1]. Ξενοφάνης I. 328 (6), *B.C.H.* XXIV. 874 (17). Kalolimno.
68. „ *J.H.S.* XVII. 268 (1). Tachtali.

[1] *οἱ ἀδελφ[οἱ.*

INDICES

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Uncertain:
(*a*) Site between Manyas and Balukiser: iv. 32–38 (39, 40?).
(*b*) Unknown or disputed provenance: ii. 12A; iii. 20A, 26A, 38A; iv. 48A, 56A; v. 9A, 26A, 162A, 173A, 178A, 195A, 196A, 196B, 235A, 247A, 280A, 293A, 301A; vi. 38, 58A[1].

2. Latin and Bilingual Inscriptions.

20; iii. 1, 10, 11, 51; v. 84, 89, 154, 219†$_1$, 254, 258, 336; vi. 2, 3–6, 16, 56. (Greek inscr. in Latin characters: v. 178.)

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4. Suggested New Readings.

ii. 15; iii. 14, 44, 46; iv. 5, 15, 16, 40, 56; v. 51, 64, 65, 76, 139, 146, 180, 219†$_4$, 221, 224, 246, 265, 295, 300, 311, 335; ✠13†, 22, 22†, 24, 30, 31, 31†; vi. 11, 12.

[1] See also Foreign Inscrr. *Brusa, Heraclea.*

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7. Foreign Inscriptions relating to Cyzicus and Cyzicenes.

Aphrodisias. (1, 2) *C.I.G.* 3782–3, Inscrr. mentioning M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus *logistes* at Cyzicus[1]; (3) *C.I.G.* 2810, Asiatic games at Cyzicus.

Athens. (1) *I.G.* I. 37, 224 ff., Hellespontine tribute lists; (2) *I.G.* II. 434, Proxeny of (anon.) Cyzicene; (3) *I.G.* II. 448, Eumenes Stratii (boxer) of Cyzicus, victorious at Thesea; *I.G.* II.; Tombstones of (4) (2893) Dexicrates Dexiae of Zeleia, (5) (3106) Aphrodisius Pai, (6) (3107) Nicon Heraei, (7) (3108) Theodorus Demetrii, of Cyzicus, (8) (3278) Carcinus Aeneti, (9) (3279) Molpothemis Hecatoclis of Proconnesus, cf. 2825, 2826 Apollonians (?a Rhyndaco); (10) *I.G.* III. 77, Inscr. from statue of Hadrian erected by Cyzicenes; (11) *I.G.* III. 129, Athlete of Sinope, victor at Cyzicene Olympia; (12) *I.G.* III. Tombstones of (13) (2530) Alexander Dionysii, (14) (2531) Eveteria Asclepiadae, (15) (2532) [anon.], of Cyzicus.

Attouda. *B.C.H.* XI. 348, Inscr. mentioning Carminius Claudianus[2].

Carthaia (Ceos). *B.C.H.* XXX. 101, Proxeny of (anon.) Cyzicene.

Ceos. *Ath. Mitth.* IX. 275, Proxeny of (anon.) Cyzicenes and Proconnesian.

Chios. Μουσ. κ. Βιβλ. II. 37, ρν′, Tombstone of Dionysodorus Hephaestionis of Cyzicus.

Corinth. *A.J.A.* VII. 29 (3), (anon.) Cyzicene.

Delos. Dittenberger, *Syll.*$_2$ 791, Oracle of Apollo to Cyzicenes, prescribing festival of Kore Soteira.

Delphi. *B.C.H.* VI. 454, Oracle of Apollo to Cyzicenes, prescribing sacrifice to Poseidon Asphaleius and Ge Karpophoros.

Demetrias. *I. G.* 1183, Sepulchral inscr. of Perigenes Perigenis.

Ephesus. (1) *C.I.G.* 2981, Honorary inscription of (anon.) procurator set up by the government of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum; (2) *B. M. Inscrr.* DCXI. (Wood 60 (14)) Asiatic games at Cyzicus.

Heraclea Perinthus. (1) Dumont 378 (64*a*), Honorary inscr. of M. Ulpius Senecio Saturninus set up on behalf of Cyzicus by the Sitophylax M. Aur. Amerimnus[3]; (2) *ibid.* 392 (74*s*) = *Ath. Mitth.* VIII. 219 (49), Games of Kore and Hadrian at Cyzicus.

Ilion. (1) Dörpfeld, *Ilion* II. 466 (32)[4], Vote of thanks to troops sent from Poemanenum to Ilion 80 B.C., under Nicander Menophili; (2) *ibid.* 465 (24) = *C.I.G.* 3598, Honorary inscription of A. Claudius Caecina (Pausanias?) of Cyzicus, *logistes* at Ilion[5].

Karabaulo. *P.A.S.* III. 413, Asiatic games at Cyzicus.

[1] Cf. below (*Attouda*). [2] Cf. above (*Aphrodisias* (1)).

[3] See Inscr. II. 17 (= *C.I.G.* 3665) for this person, and cf. *C.I.G.* 6837 (Venice). The Perinthus inscription is given to Cyzicus by Dessau, *Prosopographia*, 538.

[4] = Schliemann, *Ilios*, 636, *Arch. Zeit.* XXX. 57, *A.-E. Mitth.* XV. 8.

[5] Cf. Inscr. III. 21.

LARISA. (1) *I.G.* 528, (Anon.) Cyzicene victorious in boys' stadion; (2) *ibid.* 776, Sepulchral inscr. of Apollodorus Aglaophontis.

MAGNESIA Mae. Kern. 180, P. Aelius Aristomachus xystarch at Cyzicus.

MESSANA. *C.I.G.* 405 (Kaibel 643), Epigram on Cyzicenes buried by Aur. Eutyches[1].

MILETUS. (1) *C.I.G.* 2855, 2858, Votive offerings of Cyzicenes to Milesian Apollo[2]; (2) Dittenberger, *Syll.*$_3$ 225, Estates of Laodice on the Aesopus.

NEAPOLIS. *C.I.G.* Ital. 738 (cf. 755*c*), Asiatic games and Commodea at Cyzicus.

OLBIA. *C.I.G.* 2059 (Latyschev 18), Cyzicenes and other foreign communities crown Theocles.

OLYMPIA. *Inscr.* 463, Honorary inscr. of P. Aelius Crispinus Metrotimus, (honorary?) Cyzicene.

ORCHOMENUS. *C.I.G.* 1583, *I.G.* VII. 3195, Perigenes Heraclidae flute-player of Cyzicus victorious at Charitesia[3].

OREUS. Dittenberger, *Syll.*$_2$ 494, Proxeny of Cyzicene.

PERGAMON. Fränckel, 248 (Dittenberger, *Syll.*$_3$, 331). Letters of Attalus III to Cyzicenes.

PHILADELPHIA. *C.I.G.* 3428, Olympia at Cyzicus.

PRUSA. *Rh. Mus.* XXVII. 323=*A.-E. Mitth.* VII. 170, Inscription relating to a siege by Mithradates and mentioning his defeat at Baris[4].

RHODES. (1) *I.G.* XII. 11, List containing the name of ...odotus of Cyzicus; (2) *I.G.* XII. 127, Nicasion of Cyzicus, a benefactor; (3) *I.G.* XII. 870, Tombstone of Menodorus Menodori of Cyzicus.

ROME. (1) *I.G.* Ital. 1297, Chronological table mentioning Mithradatic war; (2) *I.G.* Ital. 1111, Agonistic inscr. mentioning tragic and comic competitions at Cyzicus.

SAMOTHRACE. *C.I.G.* 2157, 2158, Monuments commemorating the relations of Cyzicus with the sanctuary of the Cabiri[5].

SELEUCIA (Ciliciae). Michel 555, Cyzicene proxeny-decree in favour of a Seleucian.

SIGEUM. *C.I.G.* 8, etc., Stele dedicated by a Proconnesian.

TANAGRA. *I.G.* VII. 523, Proxeny of Diodotus Heraclidae Cyzicene.

THESPIAE. (1) *I.G.* VII. 1760, Victory of Perigenes Heraclidae[6] Cyzicene flute-player; (2) *I.G.* VII. 1765, Victory of Apollodorus Apollodori Cyzicene in boys' stadium.

THYATIRA. *C.I.G.* 3497, Antonius Claudius Arignotus, *neocorus* of Cyzicus.

TRALLES. (1) *B.C.H.* XXVIII. 86 (7), Hadrianea at Cyzicus; (2) *ibid.* (11), Games (anon.) at Cyzicus.

[1] Cf. Inscr. v. 138. [2] Cf. also for Milesian relations of C. Dittenberger, *Syll.*$_3$ 763.

[3] Cf. below (*Thespiae*).

[4] The stone is very probably of Cyzicene origin: Cyzicene marbles were used as building materials at Brusa in the fifteenth century (Cyriac).

[5] Cf. also *Berl. Mber.* 1855. 616, *Ath. Mitth.* XVIII. 355. 1–5.

[6] See above (*Orchomenus*).

8. FOREIGN GAMES MENTIONED IN CYZICENE INSCRIPTIONS.

ATHENS: Hadrianea, III. 22.
BYZANTIUM: Sebasta, III. 34.
CHALCEDON: Pythea, III. 34.
EPHESUS: Barbillea, III. 37.
„ Ephesea, III. 17, 44.
NICOPOLIS (?): Areia (?), V. 221.
PERGAMON: Augustea, III. 17.
„ Olympia, III. 34.
„ Traiania, III. 17.
„ (?) Soteria and Muciea, I. 19.
PERGAMON: cf. also III. 25.
PERINTHUS: Pythia, III. 34.
PISA: Olympia, III. 34.
ROME: Capitolia, III. 34.
„ Epinicia, III. 22.
SMYRNA: Commune Asiae, III. 17.
„ Olympia, III. 17.
TRALLES: Olympia, III. 22.

LIST OF EPONYMI AT CYZICUS[1]

(*a*) REPUBLICAN PERIOD.

1. ARCHONS. Maeandrius. (VI. cent. B.C.) i. 1.
Hermodorus. (Early IV. cent.) ii. 20.

2. HIPPARCHS. Euphemus Leodamantis[2]. (Late IV. cent.) i. 21.
Gorgippides Apollonii[2].
Buphantides.
Phoenix (also iv. 56).
Poseidon.
Diomedon.
} (Early III. cent.) i. 20[3].
Cyano? ii. 13.
Antigenes Hermagorae[2]. II.—I. cent. B.C. *C.I.G.* 2157. *Ath. Mitth.* XVIII. 363 (4).
Aristander Apollophanis. i. 6.
Demetrius Lysiclis[2]. iv. 40.
Dionysius. iv. 23, i. 23 (?).
Eumenes Aristandri[2]. iv. 82, cf. ii. 22.
Hestiaeus Poseidonii[2]. iv. 1.
Hetaerion Eumnesti[2]. *C.I.G.* 2158.
Hipponicus Lysagorae. Conze, *Samothrake*, pl. LXX.

To these are probably to be added :

Heraclides.
Apollonius.
Nicomedes.
} ii. 21.

And possibly

Stratius Stra[tii (?)].
C. Iulius, C. f., Ariobarzanes (second term of office).
Polyeidus [Aristagorae ?].
Stratius Stratii (second term of office).
Polyeidus [Aristagorae] (second term of office).
Eumenes Aristandri[2].
Pytheas Pytheae.
Eubius Diod[ori] (third term of office).
Polyeidus Arista[gorae].
Olympiodorus Antig[enis].
} ii. 22.

[1] Cyzicene inscriptions are cited by their Catalogue numbers.
[2] *ἐπὶ ἱππάρχεω.*

Bacchius. } ii. 21.
Apollodorus. }
Theognetus[1]. 46 B.C.? iv. 3.
Bulides Metrodori. iv. 3.
Bospon[1]. i. 11.
Hegesias. i. 8.
Peis(istratus?). i. 9.
Aristagoras Arignoti (about 40 B.C.). iv. 4.
Menestheus Polyeidi. iv. 70.
L. Vettius Rufus[2]. iv. 89.

(*b*) IMPERIAL PERIOD.

TIBERIUS. Pausanias Eumenis. i. 12.
Drusus Caesar (Germanici f.?). iv. 28.
CALIGULA. Gaius Caesar (Caligula)[1]. i. 13.
Hestiaeus Themistonactis[1]. i. 14.
(1st cent. A.D.) Claudia Ptolemaïs[2]. vi. 30.
HADRIAN? Terentius Donatus and Vibius Amphictyon[2]. ii. 1.
Claudius Decianus (Euneos?). } ii. 24.
Hermodorus Apollonii. }
Theocritus Theocriti. }
Antoninus? Caesar. }
ANTONINUS. Claudius Hestiaeus[1] (second hipparchate). Imhoof, *Kl. M.* 25 (5).
M. AURELIUS? Claudius Eteoneus[2] (cf. Aristid. i. 126). i. 24.
(1st Neocorate.) Claudius Chaereas[2] (sixth hipparchate). ii. 4.
" " (seventh hipparchate). ii. 5.
" " (eleventh hipparchate). ii. 8.
ALEX. SEVERUS. Claudia Bassa[2]. ii. 5.
Aurelia Menelais[2]. ii. 17.
(Her father, Aur. Menelaus, the Asiarch, is strategus on a coin of Alexander.)
(2nd cent. A.D.) Ti. Claudius Eumenes[2]. i. 2 *b*.
Iulius Maior[2]. ii. 18.
?Victo]rina (fifth hipparchate) and Nonia Quarta[2]. v. 289.

[1] ἐπὶ ἱππάρχεω. [2] ἱππαρχοῦντος.

LIST OF STRATEGI MENTIONED ON IMPERIAL COINS[1]

A. CYZICUS.

DOMITIAN. Ti. Claudius Hagnias. BM. 211. M. 162, 164. MS. 208.

TRAJAN. Fuscus (proconsul, see Waddington *Fastes* III A.U.C. 712). BM. 212. M. 166. MS. 218–20.

Iulius Glaucus. M. 167. MS. 216–7 (in my collection).

HADRIAN. L. Aurelius Antoninus (proconsul, 135 A.D. see Waddington, *Fastes*, 135, *Vit. Anton.* 3). Coll. Wadd. 730.

Ti. Claudius Euneôs (cf. Inscr. iii. 35). BM. 214. Coll. Wadd. 730. IKM. p. 25 (11). M. 174. MS. 222, 227.

Apu(leius) Sabinus. BM. 213. M. 170? MS. 224.

G. Iulius? Seleucus (cf. Inscr. vi. 13). M. 172 (ΑΡΧΗ-ΛΕΥΚΟC).

Severus? (see below). M. 172.

ANTONINUS. Aulus[2] (Claudius Caecina Pausanias?, strategus in Inscr. i. 24, cf. iii. 21 and Foreign inscrr. (*Ilion*)). BM. 216 (ΛΥΔΟΥ—a worn coin). M. 180.

Claudius Hestiaeus (hipparch in MS. 243. (IKM. 25 (13).)).

Severus (see below). M. 179. ΕΤΤΙ CΤΡΑ CΕΒ.

M. AURELIUS. L. Aurelius[3], Asiarch. MS. 281, cf. Commodus.

Claudius Hestiaeus. BM.

Naevius Quintus. BM. 293. M. 195 (cf. Commodus).

M (?) Claudius Mu(cianus?) Severus. (? cf. Waddington *Fastes* 143, *C.I.G.* 4033, 4034.) M. 196. MS. 266, 284–7, 282–8.

[1] BM. = British Museum Catalogue, Mysia. Coll. Wadd. = *Inventaire de la Collection Waddington*. IKM. = Imhoof, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*. IMG. = Imhoof, *Monnaies Grecques*. M. = Mionnet. MS. = Mionnet, Supplement.

[2] Strategi place the praenomen only on coins in at least two cases at Miletupolis q.v.

[3] Verus?

COMMODUS. Q. Naevius (Maximus?). BM. 240. ΝΑΙΒΙΟΥΚΥΙΝΤΟΥ. MS. 350.
T. Aelius Eteoneus. BM. 237.
Caecilianus Alupianus. BM. 236. Coll. Wadd. 748.
Aur(elius) Meidias. MS. 349. Mionnet suspects this (which I have seen) as a bad reading of
L. Aurelius, Asiarch. MS. 348. (Cf. above under M. Aurelius.)

SEVERUS. Iulius Euporus. MS. 366.
D. Alfius Modestus. BM. 247. MS. 365.

CARACALLA. Aelius Onesiphorus. Coll. Wadd. 753. M. 216–7. MS. 380.
Numi(cius?) Zoilus. Coll. Wadd. 752.

MACRINUS. T. Varius? Phoebus. BM. 259. M. 223 (CTPOYAPOY). MS. 385.

ELAGABALUS. Aurelius Sophistes. M. 226.
Lepidus (cf. Gordian III. below). MS. 398.

SEV. ALEXANDER. Aurelius Aristiades. BM. 263.
(Aurelius) Menelaus (cf. Inscr. ii. 17) in my collection.
Aurelius Prodicus. M. 228.
Iulius Secundus. Coll. Wadd. 755.
Socrates. MS. 412.
G. Flavius Trophimus. BM. 264.

GORDIAN III. P. Aelius Artemidorus (Asiarch). Coll. Wadd. 762. MS. 427–8.
Lepidus. BM. 271–2. Coll. Wadd. 759. M. 232, 237. MS. 430–1, cf. 432.
(Iulius) Secundus. MS. 429.
Num(icius?) Seleucus. IKM. 27, 19. Coll. Wadd. 760–1.

PHILIP. Aurelius Severus Agathemerus. BM. 274–5. M. 239. MS. 436.
Aurelius Alexander. Coll. Wadd. 763.
Aurelius Iu... MS. 436.

VALERIAN[1]. Apolloniades. M. 240. Wadd. Coll. 764. (Cf. MS. 444 ΑΕΟΝΙΔΟΥ and below *Apollonides* temp. Gallieni.)
Socrates. MS. 446. Cf. 445.

GALLIENUS. Asclepiades. MS. 460, 461. Coll. Wadd. 770. (Pseudauton. BM. 203. M. 140. MS. 193–4.) Cf. M. 142 ΑCΚΛΗ-ΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ.
Apollonides. MS. 466. (Pseudauton. BM. 204. M. 141.)
Basileus. (Cra...) BM. 276, 278, 282. Coll. Wadd. 767–9. Cf. MS. 459, 467, 468 ΚΛ, 470 ΑΚΙΛ, 471. (Pseudauton. BM. 205. Wadd. Coll. 714, 715. M. 146?)
Aurelius Hermolaus. BM. 275. Coll. Wadd. 765. M. 243. MS. 463–5.

[1] The fabric of the coins of Valerian and Gallienus is so bad that I have had little compunction in fusing many of Mionnet's variations.

Aurelius Menophilus Andronici. MS. 472.
Sept(imius) Ponticus. BM. 289. Coll. Wadd. 774.
Aelius? Paulus. IKM. 26 (17?). Coll. Wadd. 765. (Pseudauton. IKM. 27, 17? Coll. Wadd. 713. M. 144.)
Socrates. MS. 478. Perhaps misread for
Sostratus. M. 241. (Pseudauton. Coll. Wadd. 712.)
L. Severus (Mas...). MB. 280. IMG. 613, 171. Wadd. Coll. 771–773. (Pseudauton. M. 143. Coll. Wadd. 717, 721.)

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS. Septimius? Ponticus. BM. 289. Coll. Wadd. 774. M. 232. MS. 489 and 490.

B. MILETUPOLIS.

VESPASIAN. Ti. Volu(sius?). MS. 620.

TRAJAN. P. Licinius Balbus. BM. 8. (Cf. ΠΟ BM. 9. IKM. 29 (2). Mionn. 382. MS. 620, 622.)

HADRIAN. Q. Iulius Bassus? M. 357. (Cf. ΚΟ IKM. 29 (3).)
S. Attilius Milo? M. 356.

ANTONINUS. S. Claudius Flavius Diphilus. BM. 11, Coll. Wadd. 909. M. 358.

AURELIUS AND VERUS. Eutyches Alexandri. M. 359. MS. 626. Cf. *C.I.G.* 5944.

COMMODUS. Eutyches Alexandri. BM. 14. M. 363. (Crispina.)
Sot(erich)us. M. 364. (Crispina.)

MACRINUS. Claudius Nicostratus. M. 365.

ELAGABALUS. Philippus. M. 366.

GORDIAN III. Aurelius Hermes. M. 368 (in my collection; cf. *NZ.* xxxiii. 34, 54).

PHILIP. Aurelius Crispus. Coll. Wadd. 912. M. 371.

C. POEMANENUM.

TRAJAN. P...Ar(isto)n? Coll. Wadd. 725–6. Cf. Inscr. v. 42 (Gunen).

COMMODUS. Claudianus Ascle(piadae) Pausanias (cf. Inscr. iv. 67). Coll. Wadd. 996. *Num. Chron.* 1907, 441. Pseudauton. *Z.f.N.* iii. 123.

D. HADRIANUTHERAE.

SEVERUS. Horatius? Diogenes. BM. 5, 6. Coll. Wadd. 849. M. 147–8. MS. 251–4.
Moschianus. BM. 4.

CARACALLA. Moschianus. M. 149.

PHILIP. Aurelius Socrates. Coll. Wadd. 852. IKM. 21 (1). M. 150. (Pseudauton. Mner...(*Num. Chron.* vi. 91).)

Of later Roman officials we have scant record; under Maximian Flavius Laodicius, dioecetes of the Hellespont, and Leontius, proconsular governor of Cyzicus, are mentioned in the *Acta S. Bassae*[1], and under Licinius Poseidonius, governor (praepositus) of Cyzicus, and Zelicinthius, tribune of Leg. II. Traiana, in the *Acta S. Theogenis*[2]. A few names of eparchs and others are mentioned on Byzantine seals and weights[3].

The Bishops of the Hellespontine province are catalogued by Lequien and Gams. The Cyzicene and Proconnesian lists have been since considerably augmented by the researches of Nicodemus and Gedeon respectively.

[1] *Acta SS.* Aug. 21. [2] *Ibid.* Apr. 29. [3] Inscrr. VI. 46 ff.

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[1] I have here aimed at a complete list of published travellers in the country, including also such papers on History, Monuments, Numismatics, etc., as seemed useful additions. The sources quoted in the section on Roads give some idea of the relative value of the various travellers' accounts, many of which are very slight and archaeologically valueless. A dagger (†) preceding the author's name denotes works I have been unable to consult, an asterisk (*) those that have come to my hands too late for incorporation in the text.

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[1] See *B.S.A.* XII. 211.

EVANGELIDES, T. E.

(*a*) Περὶ τῆς Καλωνύμου Νήσου in Πλάτων, X. 1888, 83–9, 246–9.

(*b*) Διασκελί, τὸ ἀρχαῖον Δασκύλιον, *ibid.* 156—171.

(*c*) Περὶ Τριγλίας, ἀρχαίου Βρυλλίου, *ibid.* 274.

(*d*) Περί τινων ἀρχαιοτάτων Μονῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ in Σωτήρ, XII. 1889, 93 etc.

(*e*) Πατριαρχικὸν Σιγίλλιον, 1788, in Ξενοφάνης, I. 333—336; (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*) are on Triglia and its monasteries, which are again referred to in the author's Οἱ Βίοι τῶν Ἁγίων (Athens, 1895).

(*f*) Γερμανικαὶ ἀποικίαι ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ[1] in Σύλλογος, Ἐφημερὶς τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Πολιτικοῦ Συλλόγου, I. (1888), No. 26.

FABRICIUS, E. *Archäologische Untersuchungen in Kleinasien* in *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1894, 909—904. Bigaditch and Ida districts.

FITZNER, R. *Aus Kleinasien und Syrien.* Rostock, 1904, 70 ff. Statistics of Panderma, Artaki, Karabogha.

FONTANIER, V. *Voyages en Orient.* Paris, 1829, 95 ff. Brusa to Smyrna by Macestus Valley.

FOULLON, H. v. *Mineralogische und petrographische Notizen über Eruptivgesteine aus der Provinz Karassi in Kleinasien* in *Jahrb. d. kk. geolog. Anstalt.* Wien, 1882, 32.

[FULLER, J.] *Narrative of a Tour through some parts of the Turkish Empire.* London, 1829, 50—63. Smyrna to Brusa by Macestus Valley.

GEDEON, M. J. Προικόννησος. Constantinople, 1895. The Marmara Islands (Cf. †'Επίσκεψις εἰς 'Αφουσίαν in Νεολόγος, Aug. 29, 1893, and †'Επίσκεψις εἰς Ἅγιον Τιμόθεον in Φιλολογικὴ Ἠχώ, I. 1893, 17—21.)

GEMELLI-CARERI, G. F. *Il Giro del Mondo.* Napoli, 1699—1700, 81. Smyrna to Brusa by Macestus Valley, 83. Marmara. (Engl. trans. in Churchill's *Voyages*, IV.)

GERLACH, S. *Türckisches Tagebuch.* Frankfurt, 1674, 43 ff. Panderma, Cyzicus; 255 ff. Panderma to Brusa (1574). Cf. D. Chytraeus, *De Stat. Eccl.* Frankfurt, 1580, 107.

GREENWELL, W. *The Electrum Coinage of Cyzicus* in *Num. Chron.* III s. VII. (1887), 1—127.

GRELOT, J. *Relation d'un Voyage de Constantinople.* Paris, 1680. 55, Cyzicus. 61–2, Marmora Is.

GREY, (Capt.) F. W. *Remarks on the Navigation between...the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora* in *Nautical Mag.* 1834, 577–8. Cyzicus. (Reprinted in F. Smith's translation of Marmont's *Turkish Empire* (1839), 150–2.)

GRIFFITHS, J. *Travels in Europe, Asia Minor and Arabia.* London, 1805, 210. Afesia.

HAMILTON, M. *Incubation.* St Andrews, 1906, 208—213. Notes on Incubation in the Cyzicus district.

[1] On the political significance of a German colony of 400—500 families established near Triglia. I was unable to obtain any confirmation of its existence locally.

HAMILTON, W. J. *Researches in Asia Minor.* London, 1842, I. 77 ff. Brusa to Kermasti, Kestelek etc. II. 84 ff. Mudania to Aboulliond, Ulubad, Cyzicus, Manyas, Susurlu, Kebsud, Bigaditch. Cf. also *J. R. G. S.* 1837, 35 ff.

HASLUCK, F. W. The following is a summary of my own routes in the district:

1902. Cyzicus site and neighbouring villages.
1903. (*a*) Panderma, Mihallitch, Aboulliond, Karagatch, Top Hissar, Panderma.
(*b*) Panderma, Ergileh, Eski Manyas, Susurlu, Omer Keui, Balukiser, Ilidja, Hodjabunar, Gunen, Panderma.
(*c*) Villages of Kapu Dagh.
1904. (*a*) Panderma, Gunen, Hadji Pagon, Panderma.
(*b*) Panderma, Aksakal, Beykeui, Kermasti, Susurlu, Kebsud, Balukiser, Asar-Alan, Kara-déré, Ilidja, Balia, Hodjabunar, Alexa, Panderma.
(*c*) Erdek, Karabogha, Panderma, Brusa.
1905. (*a*) Panderma, Alexa, Panderma.
(*b*) Panderma, Mihallitch, Triglia, Brusa.
1906. (*a*) Mudania, Triglia, Daskeli, Tchatalaghil, Brusa.
(*b*) Panderma, Mihallitch, Ulubad, Kermasti, Susurlu, Eski Manyas, Yeni Manyas, Alexa, Panderma.
(*c*) Panderma, Erdek, Karabogha, Bighashehr, Gunen (coast road), Panderma (coast road).
(*d*) Akhissar, Gelembe, Soma, Kiresun, Balukiser, Susurlu, Mihallitch, Triglia, Brusa.

The inscriptions resulting will be found in *J.H.S.* XXII., XXIII., XXIV., XXV., XXVI., XXVII. and *B.S.A.* XIII.

—— *Sculptures from Cyzicus* in *B.S.A.* VIII. 190—196, Pll. IV.—VI. Cf. *ibid.* XI. 151–2.

—— *Poemanenum* in *J.H.S.* XXVI. 23—31, Pl. VI.

—— **Bithynica* in *B.S.A.* XIII. 285—308. Triglia, Syge, Caesarea, Katoekia, Koubouklia, Kalolimno.

—— **The Marmara Islands* in *J.H.S.* XXIX. 6—18, Pll. II.—IV.

—— *Notes on Coin-Collecting in Mysia* in *Num. Chron.* 1906, 26—36. Cf. *ibid.* 1907, 440–1.

—— *A Roman Bridge on the Aesepus* in *B.S.A.* XII. 184—189.

—— and HENDERSON, A. E. *On the Topography of Cyzicus* in *J.H.S.* XXIV. 135—143, Pl. VI.

HAWKINS (John). Visited Aboulliond (c. 1786-7 with Sibthorp?). Cf. Walpole, *Memoirs*, 457 and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

HENDERSON, A. E. *The Survey of Cyzicus* in *Records of the Past*, III. 1904. (Photographs of Isthmus, W. postern, hexagonal tower, E. wall etc.)

—— *See also* HASLUCK and HENDERSON.

HERGÈS, A. *Les Monastères de Bithynie, Medicion*, in *Bessarione*, v. 1899, 9—21.

HOBHOUSE, J. C. *A Journey through Albania.* London, 1813, 819. Marmara.

JANKE, A. *Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden.* Berlin, 1904, chh. ix.—x. On the topography of the battle of Granicus (views and plan).

JERNINGHAM, H. E. H. *To and from Constantinople.* London, 1873, ch. iv. *A trip to Cyzicus.* (Useless.)

JUDEICH, W. *Bericht über eine Reise im Nordwestlichen Kleinasien*, III. *Von Tchanak Kalessi nach Brusa* in *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, II. 544—555. Priapus, Cyzicus, Mihallitch, Ulubad. (Illus.)

—— *Die Schlacht am Granicus* in *Klio*, VIII. 1908, 372—397.

—— *Skepsis* in *Festschrift für H. Kiepert* (1898), 225 ff.

KANDIS, B. Ἡ Προῦσα. Athens, 1883, 143, 220 f., 531. Syge, Triglia.

KEIL, B. *Kyzikenisches* in *Hermes*, 1897, 505 ff. Routes and chronology of Aristides.

—— *Baris* in *Rev. de Philol.* 1901, 123–4.

KERSTEN, G. *De Cyzico...quaestiones epigraphicae.* Halle (diss.), 1886.

KIEPERT, H. *Memoir über die...Karte von Kleinasien.* Berlin, 1854, 55, 82. Population statistics.

—— *Das Schlachtfeld am Granicus* in *Globus*, 1877, XXXII. 263–4. (Map.)

—— *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, IX. 1894.

—— *Specialkarte von Westlichen Kleinasien*, 1896.

KIEPERT, R. *Die Lage der Bithynischen Stadt Dascylion und des Dascylitischen Sees* [map] in *Klio*, v. 1905, 241–3.

KINNEIR, J. M. Travelled overland from Smyrna to Constantinople (itinerary only) in *Journey through Asia Minor*, 1818.

KINSBERGEN, J. H. van. (Tr. Sprengel.) *Beschreibung des Archipelagus*, 1792, 154. Marmara Is.

KLEONYMOS, M., and PAPADOPOULOS, Ch. Βιθυνικά. Constantinople, 1867. Notes on Triglia, Syge, Pistica.

KNAACK, G. *De Nonnullis Fabulis Cyzicenis* in *Comment. Philol. in hon. Sodalit. Gryphiswaldi*, 1887, 33—41.

KYZIKENOS. *See* CYZICENUS.

LABORDE, A. and L. de. *Voyage en Asie Mineure.* Paris, 1838, 17 ff. Gelembe, Ulubad, Brusa.

LA BOULLAYE LE GOUZ, F. de. *Voyages et Observations.* Paris, 1653, I. 24. Marmara.

LAMBROS, S. P. Ἀνέκδοτον χειρόγραφον περὶ τῆς Κυζίκου καὶ τῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων αὐτῆς in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, I. 72—88. (*See* CYZICENUS, G.)

—— and ZOLOTAS, G. Τὸ Λοπάδιον ὡς ἐπισκοπή in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, I. 1904, 373–4, 498—500. Cf. 99, 239; III. 126–8.

LA MOTTRAYE, A. de. *Voyages.* London, 1727, I. 470 ff. Marmara Is., Artaki, Cyzicus (1710).

LEAHY, E. *Memoranda of a Visit to the Site of the Ruins of the Ancient*

City of Sizicus (sic) *in Asiatic Turkey* in *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.* 1858, 376.

LEBAS, P. *Voyage Archéologique. See* REINACH, S. and *Rev. de Philol.* I. 39 ff. (Aboulliond, Ulubad), and *ibid.* 211—216 (Poemanenum).

LEBRUYN, C. *See* BRUIN, C. de.

LECHEVALIER, J. B. *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont Euxin.* Paris, 1800, I. iv. Marmara, Cyzicus.

LEGRAND, E. Routes followed by in 1889:

(*a*) Daskeli, Mihallitch, Panderma, Bigha, Kemer.

(*b*) Troad, Tchanbazar, Inova, Gunen, Panderma. (Radet, *École Française*, 356 note 4. Cf. inscriptions in *B.C.H.* 1893.)

LUCAS, P. *Voyage dans la Grèce et dans l'Asie Mineure*, 1714, I. iv. Artaki, Cyzicus.

—— *Voyage...fait en MDCCXIV.* Amsterdam, 1724, I. 179—189. Mudania to Gelembe.

LUKE, J. MS. Journals[1] in B.M. *Sloane* 3945 (2), 3985 (2) (4), 2720 (2). Smyrna to Brusa (1682). The journal of the return journey (by sea) contains notes on Kalolimno, given more fully in *Harl.* 7021, f. 419.

MACFARLANE, C. *Turkey and its Destiny.* London, 1850, I. 405 ff. Brusa to Mihallitch, Panderma, Erdek, Kapu Dagh, Kazakli[2], Kermasti, Aboulliond [1847–8].

—— *The Doom of Turkey.* London, 1855. App. 9. On the massacre of Albanians at Mihallitch. App. 10. On the Imperial sheep-farm near Kermasti.

MACGILL, T. *Travels in Turkey, Italy and Russia.* London, 1808, I. 128—138. Smyrna to Mihallitch by Macestus Valley.

MADDEN, R. R. *Travels in Turkey, Egypt,* etc. (1824—1827). London, 1829, I. 194 ff. Macestus Valley road.

MAKRIS, K. Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἰαματικῶν ὑδάτων τῆς ἔναντι τῆς Ἀρτάκης κειμένης νησίδος Κεράς in Σύλλογος Κ/πόλεως, XXIX. (1907) 84.

MAKRIS, N. Περὶ τῶν ἐρειπίων τῆς ἀρχαίας Κυζίκου in Σύλλογος Κ/πόλεως, XVIII. (1883–4) 25 ff.

MALKOTSIS, A. Περὶ τῆς Χερσονήσου Κυζίκου in Ξενοφάνης, I. 1896, 250—263 (chiefly educational statistics). An anonymous paper, Γεωγραφικὰ ὅρια τῆς Κυζίκου is printed on 211—217 of the same periodical.

MARCELLUS, Vicomte de. *Souvenirs de l'Orient.* Paris, 1839, I. 167. Note on costume at Marmara; II. 495—502. Magnesia to Mudania by Macestus Valley.

MARQUARDT, J. *Cyzicus und sein Gebiet.* Berlin, 1836. [A Greek translation by Kyrillos Gregoriadis (Constantinople, 1879, pp. 206) is cited by Bursian and by Miliarakis, Νεοελλ. Γεωγρ. Φιλολογία, 104.]

MAURICE, J. *L'Atelier Monétaire de Cyzique pendant la période constantinienne* in *Zeitschr. f. Num.* XXV. 1905, 129—180.

[1] See *B.S.A.* XII. 209 f.

[2] At p. 475 ff. a full account of the Russian villages of the lake of Manyas.

*MENDEL, G. *Catalogue des Monuments Grecs, Romains, et Byzantins du Musée Impérial Ottoman de Brousse* in *B.C.H.* XXXIII. (1909) 245—442, Pll. VII.—VIII. Sculptures 1*, 2*, 8*, 10*, 11, 12, 13, 15*, 24, 25, 32, 33, 37, 43, 54*, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64*, 65, 66, 67, 70*, 71, 72, 91, 92, 94, 97, 100; Inscriptions 401, 402, 415, 430.

MICHAUD, J. F., and POUJOULAT, J. J. F. *Correspondance de l'Orient.* Paris, 1833, II. 95 ff. Karabogha, Artaki, Cyzicus.

*MICHON, E. *Ex-voto à Apollon Kratéanos* in *R.E.G.* XIX. 1906, 304–17.

MINING (Balia, Sultan Chair, etc.). See *Consular Reports, Annual Series*, 2813 (*Constantinople and District*, 1901), and *s.v.* SULTAN CHAIR.

MONCONYS, — de. *Journal des Voyages de M. de M.* Lyon, 1665, I. 421 ff. Mihallitch to Smyrna.

MORDTMANN, A. D. *Skizzen aus Kleinasien* in *Ausland*:

(*a*) 1855, 553 etc. (Mudania, Syge, Triglia, Yalichiftlik, Mihallitch, Manyas, Kebsud, Balat etc.).

(*b*) 1856, 649 etc. (Besbicus, Cyzicus, Manyas, Dudar Chiftlik, Balukiser, Pergamus).

(*c*) 1857, 110 etc. (Gemlek, Brusa, Rhyndacus Valley, Balat, Balukiser, Upper Aesepus, Bigha, Karabogha, Chardak, with plans of Assardagh and Karabogha).

—— *Ruines de Scepsis en Troade* in *Rev. Arch.* XI. (1855) 767–770. (Assardagh with plan.)

—— *Recherches sur la ville antique de Priapus et sur celle d'Exquise, ibid.* XII. 757 ff. (with plan). (Reprinted from †*Journ. Asiat. de Constantinople*, 1852. Cf. Miliarakis, No. 1202.)

—— (Population statistics of the vilayet of Brusa) in *Petermann's Mitth.* 1858, 89.

MORDTMANN, J. H. *Le Culte d'Isis à Cyzique* in *Rev. Arch. N.S.* XXXVII. 1879, 257 ff.

MORGAN, C. *Dreissig Tage in Kleinasien, Reiseskizzen.* Wien, 1886, 33—38 *Ein Tag in Artaki*; 39—44 *Ein Tag am See von Mihallitch.* [Useless.]

MORYSON, Fynes. *An Itinerary* etc. Glasgow, 1907–8, II. 88. Halone; II. 89, IV. 120, Panderma (1596–7).

MOUSTIER, A. de, in *Le Tour de Monde*, I. 1864, 250 etc. Aboulliond, Ulubad, Kermasti. (Illus.)

MUEFFLING, Baron von (=Fr. von Weiss). *Narrative of Missions to Constantinople*, etc. London, 1855, 31–2. Smyrna to Mudania.

MUNRO, J. A. R. *Explorations in Mysia* in *J. R. G. S.* 1897, 150 ff., 256 ff. Aboulliond, Susurlu, Balukiser, Manyas. (Map and illus.) Cf. *Athenaeum*, 1894 (II.) 361 (No. 3490) and 536 (No. 3495)[1].

—— *Gleanings from Mysia* in *J.H.S.* XXI. 229—237. Ida district.

MURHARD, F. *Gemälde des griechischen Archipelagus*, I. 61—81. Marmara (folk-tale) and Cyzicus.

[1] A set of 25 photographs illustrating the expedition is deposited at the library of the R. Geogr. Soc. (No. 287).

MUSTAFA-IBN-ABD-ALLAH (Hadji Khalfa). *Gihan Numa* (17th cent.), trans. Norberg, 1818, II. 477 ff. Mihallitch, Ulubad, Balukiser, Cyzicus etc.; II. 510. Road system.

NAUMANN, E. *Vom Goldnen Horn nach den Quellen des Euphrat.* Berlin, 1893, 73—75. Brusa, Kermasti, Susurlu, Kebsud.

NEUMAYR, M. *Ueber Trias- und Kohlenkalkversteinerungen aus dem Nordwestlichen Kleinasiens* in *Anz. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss.* Wien, 1887, Pt. XXII. 241–3.

NICODEMUS (Metropolitan of Cyzicus). Προλεγόμενα περὶ τῆς Ἐπαρχίας τῆς Κυζίκου printed with Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Αἰμιλιανοῦ, ἐπισκόπου τῆς Κυζίκου. Constantinople (Patriarchate), 1876.

OLIVIER, G. A. *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman.* Paris, 1801, I. 228–9. Marmara Is.

O[ROLOGAS], I. Ἐκδρομὴ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς Τριγλείαν καὶ Ἀπολλωνιάδα in Ἀστὴρ τοῦ Πόντου, II. 1886, Nos. 41–3. [Useless.]

OUSELEY, W. *Travels in the East.* London, 1821, III. 528 ff. Macestus Valley road (1812).

PALERNE, J. *Pérégrinations.* Paris, 1606, chh. xcviii.—xcix. Marmara Is.

PALMER, J. (the Orientalist), travelled overland from Smyrna to Brusa in 1806. His MS. notes (at St John's, Cambridge, No. 5 of the Levant Series) contain nothing of value for the road[1].

PASHLEY, R. *Travels in Crete.* Cambridge, 1837, II. 70 note: description of Karabogha in 1833. Cf. I. 187, note 7 (Palatia).

[PAXO. *Voyage dans la Marmarique*, 1827 (mentioned by Marquardt as inaccessible to him) deals with the Libyan Marmarice.]

PERROT, G. *Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Asie Mineure.* Paris, 1864, 89 ff. Karagatch, Ulubad, Panderma, Artaki, Kermasti.

—— and GUILLAUME, E. *Exploration de la Galatie et...de la Bithynie*, I. 73 ff. Mihallitch, Cyzicus, Kermasti, Pll. III., IV. (map of Cyzicus, plan of temple of Hadrian, detail of wall).

—— *Le Temple d'Hadrien à Cyzique* in *Rev. Arch.* 1864, IX. 350—360.

PEYSSONNEL travelled in the district c. 1735. Cf. *Mem. de l'Acad.* XXIX. 340.

PFUHL, E. *Das Beiwerk auf den Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* in *Jahrb. des Inst.* XX. 47—96. Abb. 1, 2, 4 are of Cyzicene monuments.

POCOCKE, R.[2] *Description of the East.* London, 1745, II. 2. 114 ff. Artaki, Cyzicus, Mihallitch, Ulubad, Islands, with maps of Cyzicus and the Sea of Marmara[3].

[1] See J. B. Pearson, *Abstract of the Diary of John Palmer*, Cambridge, 1899.

[2] His letters (*B. M. Add. MS.* 22,998, ff. 98—100) contain a brief journal of his travels in this district but no archaeological details.

[3] Pococke's map of the Sea of Marmara is a very detailed piece of work, much in advance of contemporary maps. The original was obtained from the chaplain at Constantinople (Thos. Lisle) and is probably the one mentioned by D'Anville (*Mem. Soc. Inscrr.* XXVIII. 318) as made by a resident. It was used again by Lechevalier.

PROKESCH, A. von. *Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien.* Wien, 1831, III. 182 ff. Smyrna to Brusa by Macestus Valley; III. 251 ff. Cyzicus, Artaki, Kapu Dagh, Gunen.

[PUECKLER-MUSKAU, H. L. H. von.] *Die Rückkehr* (posthumous). Berlin, 1846, III. 376—402. Akhissar to Brusa.

RADET, G. *De Coloniis a Macedonibus in Asiam cis Taurum deductis,* Paris, 1892, 10—11. Poemanenum, Antigonia, Apollonia.

—— and LECHAT, H. Route followed in 1887:—Edremid, Baliabazar, Gunen, Panderma, Cyzicus, Sarikeui, Mihallitch, Brusa. (Radet, *École Française,* 356, note 3. Cf. inscriptions in *B.C.H.* 1888, 1893.)

†REGEL, W. *Ueber die Stadt Dascylos und den Dascylitischen See* in *Journ. des k. Russ. Ministeriums der Volksaufklärung.* In Russian: quoted by Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa *s.v. Daskylion,* Bursian, *Jahrbuch,* 1887. The author visited Kurshunlu (Sigriane) in 1885. (*Viz. Vrem.* I. 1895, 238.)

REINACH, S., and LE BAS, F. *Voyage Archéologique.* Paris, 1888 (a new edition of Le Bas with additional plates). On the Cyzicus district see 38 ff. in the text and Plates: *Itin.* 41, 42, 44 (view of Ulubad); 45 (do. of Lake of Aboulliond); 46—48 (maps of lake and town); 48, 49 (views of walls): *Archit.* II. 1, 2 (restoration of the island temple); *Mon. Fig.* 133. The first series of plates was published by Le Bas, Pll. 44—49.

—— *Tête d'Artémis en Marbre découverte à Cyzique* in *Rev. Arch.* 1894, II. 282–4, Pll. XVII., XVIII.

—— *Une Basrelief de Mysie* in *R.E.G.* 1900, 10—13, Pl. I.

REINACH, T., on the Temple of Hadrian, *see s.v.* CYRIACUS and *Acad. des Inscrr. C. R.* 1890, 117, 119; *Rev. Critique,* 1890, 240, 260.

—— *Sur l'Époque et le Nombre des Néocorats de Cyzique* in *Rev. Num.* VIII. (1890) 244—252.

—— *Ile ou Presqu'île?* (the isthmus question) in *R.E.G.* VII. (1894) 48—51.

RICHTER, O. F. von. *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande.* Berlin, 1822, 410 ff. Aboulliond, Mihallitch, Cyzicus, Karabogha (1815), with engraving of the Amphitheatre.

RIQUET, A. de. MS. Journal (B.M. *Add. MS.* 34,197) ff. 14—15. Akhissar to Brusa by Macestus Valley.

RUGE, W. *Beiträge zu Topographie Kleinasiens* in *Petermanns Mitth.* XXXVIII. (1892) 224 ff. Odryses, Cyzicus, Bigha (maps). (The same journey is described in *Jahresber. d. Vereins f. Erdkunde* (Dresden), XXIII. 1893, 22—24, 86—89.)

RUSTAFJAELL, R. de. *Cyzicus* in *J.H.S.* XXII. 1902, 174 ff., Pl. XI. (Sketch-map and photographs.)

S——, A. Παλαιὸν Ὑδραγωγεῖον ἐν Κυζίκῳ, *Viz. Vrem.* IV. 330.

SANDYS, G. *Relation of a Voyage.* London, 1615, 27. Marmara, cf. 88.

SATHAS, C. N. Publishes list of monastic documents relating to Triglia etc. in Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, III. 565, 587, 594, 604.

SAVARY DE BRÈVES, F. *Relation des Voyages de M. de Brèves* [1605]. Paris, 1630, 4—7. Panderma, Cyzicus[1].

SEETZEN, P. U. His route (Constantinople to Smyrna by Macestus Valley) is given in Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz* (Gotha), VIII. (1803) 478 note.

SESTINI, D. *Lettere Odoporiche, osia Viaggio per la penisola di Cizico etc.* Livorno, 1785. Letter VI. Marmara, Artaki, Cyzicus, Brusa.

—— *Viaggi e Opuscoli Diversi.* Berlin, 1806, 135—139. Soma to Brusa by Macestus Valley (1782).

SIBTHORP. *See* WALPOLE, HAWKINS.

SMITH, Eli. *Researches in Armenia.* Boston, 1833, I. 50—52. Macestus Valley to Mihallitch.

SPON, J. *Voyage de l'Italie et du Levant.* Lyon, 1678, I. 284 ff. Brusa to Smyrna by Macestus Valley.

SPRATT, T. A. B. *On the Freshwater Deposits of the Levant* in *Q. Journ. Geol. Soc.* London, 1858, 212 ff. Marmara Is.

STAMATY and COLLIER. Their geographical observations on the Macestus Valley road are published in *Bull. Soc. Géogr.* XIV. 1830, 194–6.

STARK, K. B. *Nach dem Griechischen Orient.* Heidelberg, 1882, 374 ff. Description of Cyzicene antiquities in the Calvert Collection.

STOCHOVE, V. de. *Voyage du Levant.* Bruxelles, 1650, 177—184. Peramo, Panderma, Cyzicus.

TCHIHATCHEFF, P. *Asie Mineure, Description, Physique, Statistique et Archéologique.* Paris, 1853–69. Of his routes, edited by Kiepert in *Petermanns Mitth.*, Ergänzungsheft 20, 1867, the following concern us: 1847, Oct. 12.—Tchanak, Dimetoka, Bigha, Balia, Balukiser, Gelembe, Akhissar. Dec. 11.—Tchanak, Dimetoka, coast to Aesepus, Mihallitch, Mudania. 1848, Dec. 11.—Soma, Kiresun, Balukiser, Balia. 1849, May 13.—Pergamus, Ivrindi, Balukiser, Mendoura, Balat.

†TEPLOW, W. *Ueber die Oertlichkeit der Schlacht am Granikus* in *Journ. Russ. Minist. f. Volksaufklärung*, 1889, 102—112. [Bursian.]

†—— (French translation.) Paris, 1890, pp. 21 and map. [Bursian.]

—— *Recherches sur l'emplacement du champ de bataille au passage du Granique* in *Mém. Acad. Inscrr.*, Sér. I. Tom. X. (1893), Pt. I. 217—233[2].

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[1] The description is by d(u) C(hastel) the actual author of the book. It is the clearest and fullest early description except Cyriac's.

[2] The author attempts to locate the battle on the upper Granicus.

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